St Austin Imitated

or

Retractations & Repentings

in Reference to the Late

Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall

Changes

in this Nation

by

John Ellis

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Aliud fundamentum nemo ponere potest: 1. Cor 3.

S. AUSTIN Imitated:

OR Acton d. 25.117.

RETRACTATIONS AND REPENTINGS

In reference unto the late

CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL *CHANGES in this NATION.*

Wherein I. The GROUNDS

Of { *Obedience to the CROWN* / *Adherence to this CHURCH*

(In *Doctrine*, *Worship* and *Government*.)

II. An Answer to that Tractate, Entituled,

Reasons shewing the Necessity of Reformation.

III. The *Non-Obligation* of the COVENANT.

Are Represented and Demonstrated.

In II. *Books.*

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By JOHN ELLIS.

If we would judge our selves, we should not be judged of the LORD, 1 Cor. 11.

Videbunt omnes homines, quàm non sim acceptor personæ meæ. Aug. Ep. 7. Marc.

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06::2342

DEDICATIO.

EGO

Utrique Academiæ { *Cantabrigiensi* Matri, / *Oxoniensi* alteri:

EARUMQUE

Honoratissimis D. D. Cancellariis

Reverendis D. D Procancellariis

Honorandis Collegiorum { Præfectis / Sociis

Dilectiss. bonæ frugi Scholarib. universis

Hasce Paginas

In { *Pœnitudinis Symbolum* / *Juventutis monitum* / *Grati Animi* μνημόσυνον.

L. M. D. D.

Non ita pridem { Academiæ, Superius memoratæ, Alumnus / Aulæ S. *Catharinæ* Socius / Civibus *Cantabrigiensib.* Lector, sive Concionator publicus.

JOHANNES ELLIS.

To the Well-affected Reader.

YOU may please to take notice, that being unexpectedly drawn forth into a Disputation in Writing, touching Infant Baptism, by the Clerk of the Place unto which I have reference (acted, 'tis like by some other heads) and ingaged to the publishing of my * Reply; having formerly marred, as the fruit, in great part of my Ministery, so also Two * Treatises by the mixture of Apologies for the War and for Independency: I took it as my part, being to appear again in Publick; to Retract and recall (as I had bewayled) my Mistakes in those Affairs. And accordingly before that Treatise of Baptisme: Intituled, THE PASTOR and the CLERK (because the Debate was betwixt two such persons, in relation to the same place) I did then prefix, in severall particulars the summe of my Cogitations in that matter. In the last Paragraph whereof, I promised (if it should seem convenient, and God were pleased) a larger explication of that brief Palinodye. Which soon after

* May Anno 1659. when neither the Sun, nor any Star of *Charl's-wain* (if I may so speak) as then appeared.

* The first a Sermon before the House of Commons, *Feb.* 22. 42. Intituled, THE SOLE PATH to a SOUND PEACE: Containing some model of a *Reformation*.

The other an Answer to Mr. *Sam. Hudson*: Intituled, *Vindiciæ Catholicæ*: Or the Rights of particular Churches asserted: Containing a Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, (as I take it) and other reformed; touching the Non-visibility of the Catholick Church as *Organical*. In which Tractates more pains was taken, and (excepting what I here retract) whereof perhaps, more use might be made, then it may be is convenient for me to signifie.

drawn up in Part, hath ever ſince layen by. Till the laſt Summer, ſome Sheets of it began to be printed (without my Knowledge) by the care and coſt then of a * *Reverend Friend (and others whom he excited) into whoſe hand I had committed them, for peruſal. But finding the Eruption was ſomewhat precipitate; I caus'd it to withdraw its hand again, for more Maturity and Growth. In the Travelling toward the Birth whereof (though upon another occaſion alſo) I was ſeiz'd by a dangerous Feaver, which, with other Occurrences, hath impeded it till now, though often incited a freſh unto the communicating of it.* For, non mihi Tulliana illa Blanditur ſententia, qua dictum eſt, nullum unquam verbum quod revocare vellet, emiſit; ſed plane me angit Horatiana ſententia: *Neſcit vox miſſa reverti.* Hinc eſt, quod periculoſiſſimarum quæſtionum libros (de Geneſ. ſcil. & de Trinitate) diutius teneo quam vultis & fertis; ut, ſi non poterint niſi habere aliqua, quæ merito reprehendantur, ſaltem pauciora ſint, quàm eſſe poſſent, ſi præcipiti feſtinatione inconſultius ederentur. "*I am not flattered (ſaith mine Author)* "*with that Sentence of* Tully; Never did he utter "any word which he would recall: *But rather that* "*ſaying of* Horace, *ſorely troubleth me*, viz.

"A Word once out, although amiſſe it fall,
"And fain you would, yet can you not recall.

"*Hence it is, that thoſe Books of moſt difficult and* "*perillous Queſtions* (de Gen. & Trinit.) *I keep from*

*Mr. Tim. Thirſcr.

*Aug. Epiſt. 7. Marcellino.

'*from coming abroad longer then* either ye would or
'will bear. *That, if it cannot be, but that there will*
'*be ſome things in them, which may deſervedly be*
'blamed; *they may at aſt be* fewer, *then they*
'*could have been, if by a* raſh *precipitancy, they had*
'*been unadviſedly publiſhed. But I have now given*
way. VVhereunto I am the more inclined, becauſe it
is a kind of Confeſſion of my Faith; *Now* jucun- *Zanch.*
dum & optabile eſt pio cuique viro, publicum &
ſempiternum ſuæ in Chriſtum Fidei & pietatis
teſtimonium in Eccleſia relinquere — & ex iis
quæ divinâ providentiâ mihi contigerunt, videbor
quaſi videre, me ad hanc pugnam divinitus vocari;
'*Becauſe it is a comfortable and deſireable thing to*
'*every Good man, to leave a publick and laſting teſti-*
'*mony of his* Faith *in Chriſt, and of his* Piety, *in*
'*the Church: And by the providences that have fallen*
'*out; I ſeem to my ſelf, to be called out by God un-*
'*to this Service; as* Zanchy *hath expreſſed it for me* *Epiſt. Dedic. ad Archiep. Ebor. Grindal. ante operis ſui de 3. Elob. partem 1.*
before hand. Now I did intend a much briefer Tra-
ctate; and only to content my ſelf, with a moderate
account of the reaſons of my return, to my obedience
to the Church and State. But conſidering that it is re- Excuſe unto
quired in one of my profeſſion, that he ſhould not the Reader.
only utter ſound *ſpeech that cannot be reproved; but* Tit. 2. chap 1.
alſo be able to convince the Gainſayer, *I have been*
forc'd to be a little copious. Yea, *Object.*

Quis leget hæc? — nemo hercule nemo?

But who a book ſo large will read
Of things, that are now gone and dead?

The War *is paſt, and the* Church *is in reforming.*

VVell,

1 Pet. 3. 15. *Well; but yet a* reason *of my* Faith, Repentance *and return, I am obliged to render. Withall, for the honour of those that went* before us, *and have* 2. *setled the things that here I plead for; it is not amisse* 1 Cor. 7. *to shew, that* they had also the Spirit of God. *Besides, it is requisite to Evidence, that those that have* 3. *not hearts to* love *this* Church *and* Kingdom; *yet to* 4. hate *them they have no Cause. Add hereunto. 'Tis not perhaps impossible, that some Eye, by Gods direction, may fall on these Lines, who may thereby, not only with a more steddy foot, walk himself in the* Jer. 6. 16. *good and the* old Paths, *which I point at; but may be of Influence also, to cause others to do it likewise,* 'and not to suffer them to stumble in their ways from Jer. 17. 15. 'the ancient *ones, to walk in paths, in a way not* 5. cast up. *Lastly, there is nothing* new under the Eccles. 1. 9. Sun, *that which hath been, may be again; to the prevention whereof, I have endeavoured to contribute somewhat in this Treatise. After some Recovery, purging is most requisite:* Nam quæ in Morbis relinquuntur post crisin, recidivas facere consueverunt; Hipp. l. 2 Aph. 13. 'Dreggs of Diseases, if not digested or ex-'pelled, do cause Relapses; Especially in such distempers as are malignant. *Of which sort (if any) are* Schisme *and* Sedition. *Fare thou well.*

Septemb. 27. Anno Dom. 1661.

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Containing alſo an Explication of the

FRONTISPIECE.

MY ayme is, to perform by way of *Retractation*, ſome ſmall ſervice *Principi & Patriæ*, to the King and to my Country. My *allegeance* to the one, and *engagement* to the other, and my *lapſing* in both, ſo much obliging me. Now [*a*] the Kings honour is great in *Gods* Salvation. And [*b*] bleſſed are the people who have the *Lord* for their God: But [*c*] how can two walk together unleſs they be aggreed. We [*d*] muſt be like him, if we would ſee him as he is. Now God is a *righteous* God, his countenance will behold onely the thing that is *JUST*. This was the end of our Redemption, *viz.* [*e*] to deliver us from the practiſe of all *iniquity*, & that we might live a godly, *righteous*, and ſober life. Now the the *onely rule* of this righteouſneſs and juſtice, is the [*f*] *will of God*. Which will is revealed either generally in the *Scripture*, and in the Law of *Nature*: or particularly in the conſtitutions of every Nation, which contradict not the former. Hence, [*g*] *what is agreeable to Law, is agreeable to Conſcience*, ſaid once the Lawyers Caſuiſt. Hence, alſo [*h*] he that reſiſts the Laws of particular Nations, reſiſts the Ordinance of God;

a] Pſal. 20.
b] Pſal. 144.
c] Amoſ. 3.
d] 1 Joh. 3. 5. Pſal. 11.
e] Tit. 2.
f] Tit. 1.
g] Dr. Sibbs. Souls conflict. cap. 17.
h] Ro. 13. 1.

God; and he, be he head or tail, branch or ruſh, (as the [*i*] Prophet phraſeth it) ſhall receive to himſelf damnation. [*k*] He that brakes this hedge, a ſerpent ſhall bite him; he that removeth theſe (foundation) ſtones, they ſhall fall upon him. *Laws* therefore, being the ſacred impreſs of the will of *God*, and the obſervance of them, the obligement and ſecurity both of Majeſtrate and Subjects, of Prince and People; my *onely* ſcope is the vindication of them, eſpecially, in *hypotheſi*, and in reference to the late controverſies in this Church and State. *Laws* I ſay, *Gods* firſt (in Scripture) as the foundation ſtone; and *Mans* as a firm ſuperſtructure thereupon; as being by man, Gods own Law, and ſo avouched by him. Hence [*l*] that of the firſt teacher of the Gentiles: ſubmit your ſelves to every Ordinance of *Man* for the *Lords* ſake. *Laws* I ſay; either *formal* or *virtual*, expreſs or by apparent conſequence. The former two ſorts of *laws* (Scriptural and National) are the foundation of the *Church* among us, and the firmitude of the *Common-wealth*, as is repreſented in the *Frontiſpeice*. And thoſe that walk according to *this* rule, peace ſhall be upon them, and mercy, and upon the *Iſrael* (and *England*) of *God*. For [*n*] mark the *juſt* man, and behold the *upright*, the *end* of that man is peace. *Vale.*

[*i*] Iſa. 3.
[*k*] Eccleſ. 10.
[*l*] 1 Pet. 2.
[*m*] Gal. 6.
[*n*] Pſal. 37.

RETRACTATIONS AND REPENTINGS.

LIB. I.

The Civil Controverſie.

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CHAP. I.

Of the Right of Retractations *allowable to all men, evidenced from the General Cauſes of Errour. And of ſome great Examples of them Ancient and Modern.*

Sect. I.

Of the Right of Retractations.

COnſidering that *ſin* and *errour* are ſo near of kin, as that the [*a*] names are oftentimes reciprocal; and that the voice of one touching the former, is the truth in all: [*b*] 'I 'was ſhapen in iniquity, and in ſin did my 'mother conceive me; who can deny concurrence with him in that exclamation of his, in reference unto the latter;

a] חטא *peccare & aberrare.* שגה *errare & peccare. S. Jarchi in Judic. 20. 16. & in Job 5. 24.*

b] Pſ. 51.

ter; 'Who can underſtand his errours? [a] Cleanſe 'thou me from my ſecret faults? And yet this was a man [d] after Gods own heart, in matter of Godlineſs. His ſon and ſucceſſour, 'whoſe heart was [e] enlarged, 'as the ſand on the Sea-ſhore in point of *wiſdome*, leaves poſterity this Apophthegme: [f] 'He that increaſeth 'wiſdome, increaſeth ſorrow: To wit, for the knowledge of his folly. [g] As the Antient Sages were firſt ſtyled σοφοὶ, wiſe men; Afterwards φιλόσοφοι, lovers of wiſdome: Laſt of all, μωροὶ, plain fools; that is, they perceived themſelves to be ſo. Hence that of the (reputed) wiſeſt of them: [h] *Hoc unum ſcio, me nihil ſcire*; one thing I know, that I know nothing, *viz.* as I ought to know.

[a] Pſ. 19.
[d] 1 Sam. 13. 14.
[e] 1 King. 4. 29.
[f] Eccleſ. 1. *ult.*
[g] *Cic. Tuſc.* 5.
[h] *Socrat. ap. Cic. in Academ.* Σωκράτης ὡμολόγει ὡς εἰδείη. *Ariſt. Elenchi l.* 2. *c.* 8

Sect. II.

The firſt Cauſes original of our obnoxiouſneſs to Errour;

1. Corrupt Nature.

The Riſe, and firſt *Original* whereof, if we inquire for, the great *Apoſtle* of the *Gentiles* will explain unto us. Who lamenting his ſurprifals, and being deceived (though not in *Doctrine*) even after he was in the faith, (according to [i] S. *Auſtin's* reformed judgement) lays the fault on the [k] *body of death*, or *Law in the members*, that is, on *nature* it ſelf, as it is now corrupted. And [l] elſewhere, he profeſſeth, 'That the moſt perfect here, do know but in part, and ſee truth but as in 'a glaſs darkly. Implying in both, that, without eſpecial grace, we are by the principles of our very nature now, obnoxious to imperfection in our judgments, to be impoſed upon, and to erre. Conſonant whereunto is that of [m] him, (next unto that order in ſpirit and judgment;) rendring a nearer and more particular cauſe of errour: *nam quod ad primam originem pertinet, omnium mortalium progeniem fuiſſe damnatam.* —*Quid aliud indicat horrenda quædam profunditas ignorantiæ, ex qua omnis error exiit, qui omnes filios Adam tenebroſo, quodam ſinu ſuſcipit; ut homo ab illo liberari ſine labore, dolor,*

[i] *Aug. Retract. l.* 1. *c.* 23. *& c.* 26. *& ad Boniface. l.* 1. *c.* 10.
[k] Rom. 7. 11. 24.
[l] 1 Cor. 13.
[m] *Aug. de Civit. d. l.* 22. *c.* 22 *à principio.*
A ſecond general Cauſe, Ignorance.

dolore, timore non possit. 'That at the first all mans poste-'rity (saith he) was condemned. — What else shews that 'certain horrible abyss of ignorance, from whence all er-'rour doth arise, which receiveth intô its dark bosome all 'the sons of *Adam*, so that a man without labour, sorrow 'and fear, cannot be delivered from it. The nearer yet, and *natural* reason hereof, is given by the head of all Philosophers, (as the Learned [n] *Hooker* styles him) because saith he, [o] ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν Νυκτερίδων ὄμματα πρὸς τὸ φέγγος ἔχει τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὰ τῇ φύσει φανερώτατα πάντων. 'Because as the eyes 'of a *Bat* are unto the day-light, so is the eye of our 'souls unto those things which are in themselves the 'clearest. But the *supernatural*, and nearest cause (in reference unto matters of Religion) is rendred by the Apostle; [p] 'for that the *natural* man receiveth not 'the things that are of *God*, for they are foolishness un-'to him. Errour therefore and lability thereunto, being *congenious* to our very nature, and not wholly cured by *grace* it self, without particular protection; who shall forbid this *common remedy* unto this Universal and *Epidemical* Disease of mankind, (especially where we have been *contagious* unto others) *Repentance* and *Retractation*. Unless we force them on this temptation, to *cover* their sin, to save their *credit*, and so bring that curse upon themselves: [q] 'He that hideth his sin, shall not 'prosper. Oppose not therefore that of the Apostle: [r] 'If I build again the things that I destroyed, I make 'my self a transgressor. Unto which, *Austins* reply shall be my answer. [s] *Confusio autem adducit gratiam & gloriam, cum erubescit quisque de propriâ iniquitate, & pœnitendo in meliùs commutatur. Quod te facere piget, illâ perniciosâ confusione superatum; nè tibi ab hominibus nescientibus quid loquantur, objiciatur illa Apostolica sententia: si enim quæ destruxi,* &c. *quæ si etiam dici posset in eos, qui veritatem correcti prædicant, in ipsum Paulum primitùs diceretur,* &c. '*Honest shame* '(saith he) brings grace and glory; when any is ashamed

3. Cause, our Incapacity of the greatest truths.

[n] *Hook. Eccles. Polit. l.* 5. § 71.

o] *Aristot. Metaph. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

4. Cause, opposition unto spiritual things.

p] 1 Cor. 2. 24.

q] Prov. 28. 13.

r] Gal. 2. 18. *Object. Answ.*

s] *Aug. Epist.* 48. *Vincentio ad finem.*

'of his own iniquity, and by repentance is changed to 'the better. Which *thou* art loth to do, being vanquiſhed 'with ſinful and *deſtructive ſhame*; leſt by men, that 'know not what they ſay, there ſhould be objected a- 'gainſt thee that ſentence of the Apoſtle: If I build a- 'gain the things that I deſtroyed, &c. which if it might 'be applyed to thoſe, which being reformed, do publiſh 'the truth; then it ſhould firſt be verified of *Paul* him- [t] Gal. 1. *penul.* 'ſelf, for whom the Churches glorified God, [t] for that 'he now preached that Faith, which before he perſe- 'cuted.

Sect. 3.

Examples of Retractation.

But to come to ſome Inſtances and Examples of Er- 1. In general. rour, and of Retractation. And firſt in General. I [u] *Phil. de Comines.* have read this ſentence either in, or cited out of [u] *Philippe de Comines*, (for the Book is not now at hand) *viz.* 'A *Prince*, or *any other* man that hath not been deceived, 'can be but a beaſt, becauſe he diſcerns not the difference 'between good and evil. Conſonant unto that of the [x] *Aug. Epiſt. 7* Antient now quoted: [x] *Nullum unquam verbum, inquit, quod revocare vellet, emiſit. Quæ quidem laus, quanquam præclariſſima videatur, tamen credibilior eſt, de nimium fatuo, quam de ſapiente perfecto. Nam illi quos moriones vocant, quanto magis à ſenſu communi diſſonant, magiſque inſulſi & abſurdi ſunt; tanto magis nullum verbum emittunt, quod revocare velint; quia dicti mali, vel ſtulti, vel incommodi pœnitere, utique ſordatorum eſt.* That is, *Tully* ſaith of the *Roman*, 'That he never uttered any word which he wiſhed were 'unſpoken: Which commendation, though it be very 'ſplendid, yet is it more like to be true of an abſolute '*fool*, then of a perfect wiſe man; for thoſe whom we 'call *Ideots*, by how much they are farther off from com- 'mon ſenſe, and are more abſurd and *witleſs*; by ſo 'much

'much the more, they never utter any word, that they 'will retract. For to repent of an evil, idle, or inconsi- 'derate ſpeech, is indeed the part of a prudent and *cor-* '*dial man*; thus far he. And to come nearer to our own time and occaſion. I ſhall give you the *vivid* ſpeech of one yet living, (for ought I know) [y] 'Whoſoever '(ſaith he) hath not been deceived in the current of theſe 'laſt *fifteen* years, hath been preſerved from being ſo, 'by ſuch an abſence of friendſhip, confidence and cha- 'rity, and by ſuch an enmity to mankind; by ſuch a mea- 'ſure of diſtruſt, jealouſie and villany in his nature, that 'I had rather be a dog then that man. I ſhall leave unto the Authour his paſſion and expreſſions; and only im- prove his *notion* as complying with the premiſes. But to come to ſome *particulars*. We might fetch them from the *whole rational* creature, and from the *top-branch* of it, the Angels. For thoſe of them that fell, al- though through *malice*, they will not retract, yet there is no doubt but they do repent, though not with godly ſorrow. And what is Retractation but Repentance cer- tified? *Adam* the firſt and flower of the meer rational creature here on earth, did not only repent, but retract his errour, (though the expreſſion of it be not verbally ſet down) elſe could he not have been capable of ſalva- tion; for 'tis only [z] 'if we *confeſs* our ſin, that God 'hath obliged his faithfulneſs and truth to forgive us. 'And though with the heart man believe unto righteouſ- 'neſs, yet with the *mouth* confeſſion muſt be made unto 'ſalvation, ſaith the Apoſtle. Unto this head therefore of *Retractation* (not *criticiſing* on the word) appertain all the *confeſſions* of ſin we read of in the Scripture. But take a few particulars, and you ſhall find them to be the choiceſt of the Saints.

Job [a] '(like unto whom in his time, was none on 'earth, by the Lords own teſtimony, yet he) *retracts*, '[b] I have ſpoken words, (ſaith he) wch I underſtood not, 'therefore I abhor my ſelf, and repent in duſt and aſhes. '[c] *David*, by whom the *Spirit* of God frequently 'ſpake,

y] Letter to one of the Lords of the Council con- cerning the Declarat. of *Octob.* 13. 1655.

2. Particular Inſtances.

1. The lapſed Angels.

2. The firſt man.

z] 1 Joh. 1.9.

Rom 10.

3. Other Scripr. Inſt.

1. a] Job. 1. b] Ch. 40. 4,5. & c. 42. 6.

2. *David.* c] 2 Sam. 23. 2

'ſpake; he retracts; [d] I beſeech thee, O Lord, take 'away the iniquity of thy ſervant, for I have done very 'fooliſhly. *Solomon*, who [e] exceeded all the Kings of the earth, both in riches and wiſdome, he retracts. '[f] Therefore I hated all my labour: [g] and he calls 'his travel in wiſdome, madneſs and folly. And it is ſuppoſed that the whole Book of *Eccleſiaſtes* is nothing elſe but his retractations, eſpecially if we credit the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, (but not that in the King of *Spains* Bible) who makes the ground of it to be, that *Solomon* foreſaw he ſhould leave his wiſdome and Kingdome to a fool, to *Roboboam*. Some alſo might perhaps bring S. *Paul* himſelf near the matter of a retractation, as to the ſtyle of a Letter which he wrote to the *Corinthians*, the good effect whereof, made him in the iſſue not repent, [h] though he ſaith, 'he did repent. But becauſe the [i] *doctiſs. interpres* (as he is often ſtyled) expounds the place otherwiſe, I inſiſt not on it. But without query, [k] 'he by whoſe mouth the *Gentiles* firſt re-'ceived the Goſpel and believed, not only repented of a mortal ſin, (the denying of his *Lord*) but retracted, no doubt, an errour, by his example made much more dangerous, the withdrawing, namely, from the *Gentiles* in eating bread, and compelling thereby the *Gentiles* to 'live as the *Jews* did, ſo betraying the liberty of the Goſpel. Which may be a note for thoſe, who claim ſucceſſion from him, not to arrogate unto themſelves an *unerring ſpirit*, no not in *Cathedrâ*, as doth the Biſhop of *Rome*, the only enemy of all Chriſtians, unto retractations.

But to come lower; S. *Auſtin the beſt Learned of all Antient Doctors* (in the judgement of the *Church* of *England* [l]) he not only retracts himſelf, and wrote *two whole Books* of that argument, whoſe ſpirit in this particular may in few be ſeen in that excellent Epiſtle of his unto *Marcellinus* [m] (*Ep.*7.) But alſo therein exhorts every other man that hath been miſtaken; *ſecundas habeat partes modeſtiæ, qui primas non potuit habere ſapientiæ,*

d] 2 Sam. 24. 10.

e] 1 King. 10. 23.

3. *Solomon*

f] Eccleſ. 2. 20, 21.

g] Cap. 1. 17. *Chald.* Paraph. In Eccleſ.

4. If not S. *Paul*,

h] 2 Cor. 7. 8.

i] *Calv. in loc.*

k] Gal. 2. 11.

5. Yet doubtleſs *Peter*.

Gal. 2.

Adverſaries to Retractation.

4. Examples in the Antient Church.

l] *Homil.* againſt peril of Idolatry, *part.* 2. *pag.* 25.

1. S. *Auſtin.*

m] *Epi.* 7. and libb. of Retrac.

pientiæ; 'that every ſuch one ſhould take the ſecond 'boat of modeſty and retracting, that could not get the 'firſt of wiſdome, by not erring. The reaſon is: [n] *nam nimis perversè ſeipſum amat, qui & alios vult errare, ut error ſuus lateat*; 'for he too paſſionately loves him-'ſelf, that is willing others ſhould ſtill wander, that his 'own ſtraying may be unobſerved. Yea, he admoniſh-eth [o] *Hieron* of a revocation of his opinion, touch-ing the controverſie betwixt *Paul* and *Peter*, Gal. 2. *Ar-ripe, obſecro te, ingenuam, & verè Chriſtianam cum cha-ritate ſeveritatem, ad illud opus corrigendum atque emen-dandum, & palinodiam, ut dicitur cane; incomparabiliter enim pulchrior eſt veritas Chriſtianorum, quam Helena Græcorum, pro quâ mille Heroes adverſus Trojam dimi-carunt.* 'I beſeech thee (ſaith he) take reſolute hold 'upon an ingenuous and true Chriſtian *ſeverity* joined 'with *charity*, for the correcting and amending of that 'work, and ſing a palinody or *peccavi*; for more beautiful 'incomparably is the *truth* of Chriſtians, then the *Helen* 'of the *Grecians*, for whom thouſands of gallant men 'fought at *Troy*. S. *Jerome* alſo (unto whom one while *Eraſm.* gives the primacy next the Scripture, though af-terward he renders it to *Cyprian*: in neither with too much judgement,) if that Epiſtle be his, which is *Ep.* 8. *Tom.* 4. *Edit.* 1533. *Pariſ.* But in the latter Editions it is the eighth of the ninth Tome: *Hierome* I ſay, hath this religious ſentence, and gives us a fundamental reaſon, and his own example for this practice, where there is juſt occaſion, *viz. Dicat unuſquiſque quod velit; ego interim de me, pro ſenſu mei parvitate, judicavi melius eſſe confundi coram peccatoribus ſuper terram, quàm co-ram Sanctis Angelis in cœlo, vel ubicunque judicium ſuum Dominus voluerit demonſtrare.* That is, 'Let every 'man ſay what he pleaſeth, for my part, I have, accor-'ding to my ſmall judgement, determined; that it is 'better to take ſhame (to wit, by acknowledgement of 'our errours) before *ſinners* on *earth*, then before the ho-'ly *Angels* in *heaven*, or whereſoever the Lord ſhall

[n] *Idem ibid.*

[o] *Aug. Ep.* 9. *Ad Hieron.*

2. S. *Hierom. Ep. Ded. operib. Hierom.* 1516. *Ep. Ded. operib. Cypr.* 1520.

appear

'appear in Judgement. Thus farre he.

5. Modern Examples.

In theſe *latter* times, greater men of the Reformation (after *Luther*) then *Bucer* and *Calvin*, we have not. The commendation of the firſt we have from the [q] latter in theſe words: *ſiquidem vir ille, ut noſti, præter reconditam eruditionem, copioſam q; multarum rerum ſcientiam, præter ingenii perſpicaciam, multam lectionem, aliaſq; multas ac varias virtutes, quibus à nemine hodiè ferè vincitur, cum paucis eſt conferendus, plurimis antecellit; hanc ſibi propriam laudem habet, quòd nullus hac memoriâ, exactiore diligentiâ in Scripture interpretatione verſatus eſt.* 'That man (ſaith *Calvin*, ſpeaking of '*Bucer*) as thou knoweſt, hath beſides abſtruſe Learn- 'ing, rarity of knowledge, ſharp wit, much reading, and 'many other vertues, wherein he is excelled almoſt by 'no man in our time, can be compared but with few, 'and exceedeth the moſt; hath this peculiar commenda- 'tion beſides, that no man in our memory hath with 'more exact diligence travelled in the Expoſition of 'Scripture. The ſuperlative encomium of *Calvin* him- ſelf, is rendred by one who in all things underſtood well what he ſaid, and was not a man that knew how to flatter, eſpecially not him, againſt whom he wrote (in point of Diſcipline) namely, the incomparable *Hooker*, as he is commonly and deſervedly ſtyled. [r] 'For mine own 'part, (ſaith he) I think him incomparably the *wiſeſt* 'man that ever the *French* Church did enjoy, ſince the 'houre that it enjoyed him. And again, 'Though thou- 'ſands were beholding to him, yet he to none, but only 'to *God*, the Authour of that moſt bleſſed Fountain, the '*Book of Life*; and of the admirable dexterity of *wit*, 'together with the helps of other *Learning*, which were 'his guides. Again, two things of principal moment 'there are, which have deſervedly procured him honour 'throughout the world; the one, his exceeding great 'pains in compoſing the *Inſtitutions* of Chriſtian Reli- 'gion; the other, his no leſs induſtrious travel for *Ex- poſition* of Scripture, according to the ſame Inſtitutions.

Now

q] *Calv. Epiſt. Ded. ante com. in ep. ad Rom. S. Grynæo.*

Bucer.

r] *Hook. Eccleſ. Polit. in Præfat. Sect. 2.*

Calvin.

His Inſtitutions.

His Commentaries.

Now both these Authours (as indeed all others) have had their *water to their wine*; as [s] a great and grave *Prelate* of this Church would say. [t] *Bucer* relates his former doctrine touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and his *retracting* of it again, and closes the Discourse with these words. *Habet R. P. T. & quicunque hæc legent, ut in contentione Sacramentorum pertractus sim, in eâ me gesserim, & ab eâ, Domini ope ereptus sim; quæque ratio sit consilii mei, quæ causa quod* retractare *in animum induxi*, &c. 'Thus have I given '(saith he) your Reverend Fatherhood an account, and 'all other men that shall read these writings, how I 'was wound into these Controversies about the Sacra-'ments; How I carryed my self in it; and how, the 'Lord assisting, I was delivered out of it; and upon 'what grounds and reasons, I was induced to *retract*. Which retractation was almost followed with a *tretractation* (as I may so speak) for [u] *Zanchy* hath touching it these words. *Bucerus post illam retractationem, in posterioribus scriptis, clarius se explicans, idem docuit quod & nos de corpore Christi, deque illius præsentiâ.* That is, 'Bucer after that retractation in his latter writings 'explaining himself more fully, taught the same thing 'concerning the Body of Christ and his Presence, that 'we do. Thus far of him. Touching *Calvin*, although [x] *Beza* in the Narrative of his life, saith: *In doctrinâ quam initio tradidit, ad extremum constans, nihil prorsus immutavit, quod paucis nostrâ memoriâ contigit:* 'That in the *Doctrine* which he first delivered, 'he was constant to the end, and altered nothing; a 'priviledge, saith he, that hath happened but to few Di-'vines in our time: Howsoever this were so in Doctrine (although, some few things, not of the greatest moment, might have admitted of farther consideration) yet in a point of Government in the Church of *Geneva*, you may read him deeply retracting, *Epist. S. Grynæi Calvino: Fac esse quod tuâ unius gravissimâ culpâ, res Christi sic labefactatæ sunt Geneva.* That is, '[z] Grant 'that

s] D. *George Abbot* L. Archbishop of *Cant.* my honorable Lord and Master.

t] *Bucer præfat. dedic. D. Foxio Ep. Hereford. prefix. Comment. suis in 4 Evangel.*

u] *Bucer.*

v] *Defens. Admon. Neostadian. in ipso fine Tom.* 8.

Vid. Scripta ejus Anglican.

2. Calvin.

x] *Beza in vita Calv. prope finem.*

z] *Calv. Epist. edit.* 2. *Sanctandr. p.* 364.

'that by your moſt hainous fault alone, the affairs of Chriſt 'are ſo ruined at *Geneva*, (for ſo *Calvin* had bewailed to 'Farel in an Epiſtle) yet in this want of Miniſters you 'ought not to lie ſtill, whileſt any place, though never ſo 'ſmall is offered. *Calvins* own words unto *Farel* are: *Si-*
Calvin. *quidem, ut coram Deo & populo ejus fateamur; imperitia, ſocordia, negligentia, errore noſtri factum ex parte eſſe, ut Eccleſia vobis commiſſa, tam miſerè collapſa ſit —— dignam fuiſſe noſtram hinc inſcitiam, hinc incu-*
'riam, *quæ tali exemplo caſtigaretur: culpâ noſtrâ corruiſſe miſeram illam Eccleſiam, nunquam ſum conceſſurus.*

a] *Calv.* Epiſt. to *Farel. Ann.* 1538. *p.* 283. [a] The ſumme is, 'he diſtinguiſheth betwixt miſcarri-'age by errour, ignorance and negligence (which he ac-'knowledgeth, and the Lords correction of him for it) 'and wilful guilt, and intentional miſchief, which he 'denyeth to have been in that affair; but retracting and lamenting we have him in the former. Adde to theſe,

3. Biſhop *Ridley.* Mr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *Lond.* and one of the Learnedeſt of the Martyrs in Q. *Marys* time: Who in his An-

His notable expreſſion and proteſtation of Liberty to Retract. ſwer to the Q. Commiſſioners, *April* 2. 1554. hath theſe words: 'Theſe things I do rather recite at this 'preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you here-'after, as in times paſt it hath done unto me.——God 'may open it unto you in time to come.——Therefore I '[b] *proteſt* here publickly, that it may be lawful for me '— to adde or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſeem hereafter 'more convenient and meet for the purpoſe, through 'more ſound judgement, better deliberation, and more 'exact tryal of every particular thing. Nay, even *Bel-*

b] *Fox Act and Mon.* in Q. *Mary.*

larmine himſelf, that wrote againſt all *Errants* of his time, whether real or imagined, as if himſelf had been without errour, and whom our [c] *Whitaker* ſtyleth, *Virum ſanè doctum, ingenio fœlicem, judicio ſubtili, lectione multiplici præditum*; and to whom being a *Car-*

c] *Contro.* 1. *Epiſt. Dedic. ad D. Ceſil.*

dinal, and a *Pillar*, it might be ſcandalous to alter any thing; Yet he hath alſo the *Recognition* of his Works, wherein he retracts ſeveral things he had formerly aſſer-

4. *Bellarmine.* ted, and this formally. Not to inſiſt on his retracta-

tions

tions *real* and in effect, who whileſt he writes for, *(Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit)* undermines the main foundations of his own cauſe, as might be ſhewn. Yea, and the *five Independent Br.* themſelves, (that I may have them the more exorable Judges) do profeſs and ſay: 'In a jealouſie of our ſelves, we kept this *re-* 'ſerve, to alter and *retract* (though not lightly) what- 'ever ſhould be diſcovered to be taken up out of a miſ- 'underſtanding of the *rule*, &c. Now *Coronidis loco*, to ſet a *Crown* (with the concluſion) upon the ingenuity of the former Company, We have *His Royal Majeſty* our late Soveraign, condeſcending unto *Retractations*, yea, even once and again. We muſt (ſaith he) *without endeavouring to excuſe, that, which in truth was an errour, Our going to the Houſe of Commons.* Again elſewhere, having ſpoken of his conſenting to the depoſition of *Epiſcopal* Government in *Scotland*, he ſaith; 'If 'any ſhall impute My yielding to them as My failing and 'ſin, I can eaſily *acknowledge* it, &c. Seeing therefore imperfection and obnoxiouſneſs unto errour, is not only as the *ſhadow* to this *body* of death, always following of it; but alſo that the *beſt* and *wiſeſt* of men in all Ages, have judged it their parts to *retract*, and denie their former judgements, if found erroneous; I ſhall conclude this firſt point, touching the *right*, *cauſes* and *inſtances* of Retractations, with that of the great example in this kind, ſo often quoted. [n] *Bona quippe ſpei eſt homo, ſi eum ſic proficientem dies ultimus vitæ hujus invenerit, ut adjiciantur ei, quæ proficienti defuerunt, & perficiendus quàm puniendus potius judicetur.* 'There 'is good hope of that man, ſaith he, whom the laſt day 'of his life ſhall find going forward (in the purſuit of 'truth) that there may be added to the thriving man, 'what he yet wants, and he may be counted worthy ra- 'ther to be perfected, then puniſhed.

Recognit. oper. præfix. Editionibus recent.

5.
Independents. Apologetic. Narrat. p 11.

6.
His late Majeſty.

Kings Anſw. to the Remonſtr of *May* 19. 42. p. 10.

Icon Baſilic. Medit. 17. p. 156.

n] *Aug. de Dono perſeverantiæ cap.* 21.

CHAP. II.

How farre *only, the Authour declined, how he behaved himself therein, and what awakened him unto recovery.*

Sect. I.

How far the Authour lapsed in the Church Affairs.

IT follows next to represent in short, how far *only*, I proceeded in my lapse, what was my *carriage* therein, and by what means it pleased God ἀναζωπυρῆσαι, to stir up the sparks of light for my *arising*. Of the first.

1 Sam. 2. Psal 37. Isa. 30. Eccles. 5. ult. 1 Joh. 3. chap. 5. Job 19. 1 Pet. 1. Psal. 48. Matth. 16.

There is a promise that God will *keep* the feet of 'his Saints, so that though they *fall*, they shall not be 'cast off, for the Lord will put under his *hand*. And 'that they shall hear a voice behind them, saying, *this* 'is the way, walk in it, when they turn to the right hand, 'and when they turn to the left, according to that of the 'wise man, He that feareth God, (namely, in sincerity) *shall come out of them all*. For he that is born of 'God, cannot *sin*, to wit, that *sin unto death*, and of 'final Apostacy. The reason is, *first*, *his seed remaineth* 'in him, even the *root of the matter*, as *Job* speaks. And then again, he is *kept* by the *power of God through faith unto salvation*, as S. *Peter* uttereth it. All which, like 'as we have heard, so have we seen, in the City of the 'Lord of Hosts, in the City of our God, (the Church) 'that God will establish it for ever, so that the gates of Hell shall not for *ever* prevail against it. For at my receeding from the *Church*, the many Conflicts of my spirit, brought forth this *protestation* at my very *first* * admission

* At *Colch. Apr.* 15. 1644. *Artic.* 3.

miſſion into that Company, *viz.* Cauſes and Motives of my preſent motion. Firſt, 'Of coming off from the 'way I have been in, 1. Negatively, what they are 'not. *Not becauſe* the Congregations of *England* are all 'falſe *Churches*, and the *Miniſters* falſe ones, and the 'Ordinances none. For I conceive firſt, that where any 'number of viſible Chriſtians, have choſen expreſly, or 'by conſent a fit Paſtor, and joyn in ſpirit with him, 'and one with another, in the things of God, according 'to his Word, though there be no expreſs *Covenant*, 'nor *Separation* from the multitude, for want of light 'in theſe things, they become a *true Church*, they ha-'ving thereby all the eſſentials of one. Secondly, 'where God *ordinarily* and *plentifully* works to edifica-'tion, there muſt be ſomething of a Church, for he is 'not ordinarily preſent to edification, but in his houſe. 2. Poſitively what they were; namely, an apprehenſi-on of more purity in Aſſemblies and Ordinances. Secondly, 'Under what *condition* I deſire to be taken on, 'ſcil. of a profeſſion, 1. Of my acknowledgement of the 'Authority of *Magiſtracy over all perſons* in Civil Cau-'ſes. 2. In *Church matters*, for the point of *publick* 'exerciſe, ſo, as not to raiſe tumults, and by force to 'obtain the exerciſe of Religion, 3. Of my *reſolution* 'to keep all communion in affection, and as much as may 'be in *Ordinances* with the godly in the *Parochial* Con-'gregations, though of different judgement from my ſelf. '4. Of keeping my *mine eye and ear* open to any light or 'advice that ſhall be brought from the *Word*, though di-'verſe from what now I have in matter of gathering, 'and government of the Church and Ordinances there-'of.

The Author's proteſtation at entring into *Independency*. Which he noteth, not as owning every expreſſion in it, but as to evidence his oppoſition even then to *Separation*.

Sect. 2.

How he behaved himſelf in it.

Accordingly indeed I did hold fellowſhip and communion in Ordinances with all ſuch particular Congregations,

gations, whilſt I was in this way, and as a real proof thereof I did *Baptiſe* my children, onely in thoſe the *Parochial* Congregations, one in the place where I preach'd, and another in a neighbour Town; where I made alſo the like declaration, as appears by the teſtimony of the then Miniſter of the place, which I have by me under his hand. So that I never, *bleſſed be God*, proceeded ſo far as *Separation*, much leſs to *Anabaptiſm*. But on the contrary, they would ſay, that I was ground between *Separation* and *Presbytery*, as betwixt two Milſtons. Nay, I never came fully, and, as we uſe to ſay, cleverly off to *Independency*. A proof whereof appears, in that I refuſed the *Paſtors* Office (the former being deceaſed) although deſired, and my ſelf, after advice with ſome that way, for a time, was ſomewhat inclined, but durſt not cloſe, till thoughts ripening by *experience* and *obſervation*, I wholly declined it, as alſo the *way it ſelf* (*gradatim*; and by little and little) not continuing but two or three years, as I take it, for I left communion before I left the place, and that I did, from my firſt cloſing, above *four* years, as appears by a Certificate of my diſmiſſion: Which leads me to the laſt particular, *viz.* what occaſioned my awakening and recovery.

St. Peters.

Lawford.

Mr. John Edes

Mr. John W. ſometime of Norwich.

Dated Octob. 10 1648.

§ 3.

Sect. 3.

What excited his Return.

I found my expectation of the *beauty of holineſs*, in *Unity*, *Order*, and more effectual edification in Faith, Love, Meekneſs, Patience, Temperance, Peace, and Mortification, mainly fruſtrated. Factions, confuſion, breaches, *doting* about fruitleſſe endleſs Queſtions; time vainly ſpent in them. The *Paſtor* (an honeſt well-meaning man) deſpiſed. *Covetouſneſs*, *contempt* of others, and, in ſome, *impurities*, &c. growing, and *injuſtice* eminent. That it was fully verified which* *Auſtin* once ſaid of their *fathers* the *Donatiſts*, that,

* *Saltem apud ſe experti, quàm multos malos pro pace* Donati *ferre coganiur, impacatas illorum calumnias pace ſua correctionis Extinguerent. Cont. Parm. l. 3. c. 2.*

Malos

Malos tantos toleratis, ſed nullâ bonâ mercede,
Quia quod debetis pro Chriſto, *pro* Donato *vultis ferre.* *Pſalm Aug. Cont. Donatiſt. Tom. 7. in ipſo ingreſſu*

For *Chriſt* his peace no ſinners you'l allow,
But for *Donatus* you will bear enow.

So alſo, unleſs we would hear that for *Independency*'s ſake, that we would not hear in the *Aſſemblies Parochial* for Unity's and for *Chriſt*'s ſake; there was a neceſſity of *Separation* again, which alſo came to paſs. Alſo I obſerved, that almoſt *all* the companies of this way fell in *ſunder*, or into *horrible opinions*, or *lewd practiſes*, as well as ours. Beſides, whilſt we were in our vain altercations on the *Lords days*, after the afternoon Sermon, our *Families* were neglected. Withal, others in the *Parochial Aſſemblies* were deſerted, both in point of Paſtoral offices, as alſo of other care, whilſt they were look'd upon as people of another world. Moreover they were brought into a *Maze*, not knowing which way to take, who to follow, nor *whether they were in the way of ſalvation or not*, and ſo ſhaking the very *foundations of their faith*; a moſt horrid evil. Add hereunto, I noted, that generally they were for maintaining of their way by *Arms*, in caſe they had ſtrength; and that *this* conteſt had born a great part in the confuſion of the Nation. Theſe and other the like ill fruits, (though ſome there were of a more *ſincere* ſpirit, who for their vertues and piety I yet honor, who yet had their tinctures not ſo warrantable) made me look further into the *root*, which I have not onely found, but I think alſo in the ſequel evidenced to be *rotten*, for, *by their* fruits *you ſhall know them*. Now *renting* and *tearing* of themſelves, of the Church, and Common-wealth, is the fruit of *thorns* and *thiſtles*, not of *Vines* or *Fig-trees*, as our *Saviour* long ſince forewarn'd. Matth. 7. 16. illuſtrated.

I profeſs, I am more confirm'd in my faith in *Chriſt*, by his *Sermons* than by his *Miracles*, they are ſo convincing.

vincing; Thoſe were not in our view, Theſe the immutable truth of them we daily might, did we mark it, ſee.

The proof. I have often obſerved, with wonder, by what ſpirit he

Matth. 23. ſpake (though little notice is taken of it) when he did deſign ſome perſons in the Church by *whited Sepulchers*, and *graves that appear not*. Thereby noting both their *non-appearance*, and their *dangerouſneſs*, eſpecially their *ſwallowing* faculty, as *Agur*, 'The Grave ſaith not, I

Prov. 30. 'have *enough*. This *inſatiable* ſpirit was ſingularly noted in the old *Separatiſts* the *Phariſees* (for both the name ſignifies ſo (as well as *expounding*) and their pra-

Matth. 9. 11. ctiſe, by condemning our *Saviour* for eating with the

Luk. 16. 14. common people) 'The Phariſees alſo, which were *co-*

Matth. 23 14. 'vetous (ſaith the Text.) And, 'Ye *devour* widows

Aug. cont. 'houſes. Now, *Potuitne* gravius *divinis eloquiis accu-*

Parm. l. 3. c. 2. *ſari Avaritia, quàm ut idololatria demonſtraretur aequalis, & ejus nominis appellaretur, dicente Apoſtolo, Et*

Eph. 5. 5. Col. 3. 5. Avaritia, *quæ eſt* Idolorum *ſervitus? potuitne majori* pœna *digna judicari, quàm ut inter illa crimina poneretur, quibus obſeſſi regnum Dei non poſſidebunt? aperiantur oculi cordis, ne fruſtra pateant oculi corporis.* 'Could 'any thing be ſpoken more to ſhew the foulneſs of the 'ſin of *covetouſneſs*, than when the Apoſtle calls it '(twice) *Idolatry*? And could any ſin be more ſorely 'puniſhed, than by excluſion from the Kingdom of 'Heaven. Let the eyes of the *heart* be open, leſt thoſe 'of the *head* ſee to no purpoſe. And it is to be obſerved of our *Saviour* alſo, how *tartly*, yet fully and moſt aptly he directs unto the diſcovery of them, when he ſaith,

Matth. 7. their fruit ſhall be like that of *thorns* and *thiſtles*, noting the *rents* and *diviſions* they ſhould make, and by that

Ibid. might be known. And to the ſame effect in the ſame place he ſaith: 'Their cloathing ſhould be like 'that of *ſheep*, but their work that of *wolves*, which

Joh. 10. elſewhere he ſays is *ſcattering* and *deſtruction*. The ſame which *Paul* more plainly; 'Thoſe who cauſe *divi-*

Rom. 16. '*ſions*, contrary to the *doctrine* ye have learned, are ſuch 'as ſerve their own *bellies*. Which, I aſſure you, ſome are

well

well known to have, even unto *Epicuriſm* and *Exceſs*, as our *Saviour* ſpeaks. Upon conſideration of the premiſes, though I did not renounce wholly, yet were our meetings interrupted, and we remained *ſocii ſine ſocietate*, and brethren without communion; till *wearied* with that ſpirit, and by occaſion of the Siedge (by the help of ſome of thoſe, whom I had not wholly left, as *Auſtin* once, of which afterwards) invited thence, and withdrawn, being out of the *crowd* and *ſmoak*, I have had time and clearneſs to *review* things better. Which, through *Gods* mercy, I have ſo improved, that it hath produced in me both in *word* and *walking*, now *many years* both verbal and real *retractations*, having felt that true: 'Thine *own wickedneſs* ſhall correct thee, and thy 'back*ſlidings* ſhall reprove thee. Know therefore and 'ſee, that it is an evil thing and *bitter*, that thou haſt 'forſaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in 'thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. So true is that, *Si fugiatis hunc Chriſtum, qui cum electis in noſtris cœtibus cœnat, ac eos viciſſimi excipit, profectò nuſquam invenietis.* 'If you '(ſaith mine Author) fly from Chriſt, who, with his Choſen, *ſups* in our Aſſemblies (in the Church of *England*) 'and again alſo *entertaineth* them; in truth you will find 'him no where. This for the Church affair.

Matth. 23.25.

Jer. 2. 19.

Brighm. in Apocyl. cap. 3. 20.

The next is that of the Common-wealth, how far I went in that.

Sect. 4.

How far the Author proceeded in the Civil Controverſie.

Firſt, Never could I diſgeſt the oppoſition againſt, and attempts touching the *life* of the *King*, though I took it down for a few days, but was not able to concoct it, as ſhall be ſhewed. Which leads me to the ſecond particular, What firſt did more eſpecially open my eyes, and excite my ſpirit to a recognition, in that particular alſo.

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Sect. 5.

What recalled him.

When the *Army* had the *King* at *Causham by Redding*, and moved openly against the *Lords and Commons* in *Parliament*, I made a journey thither to satisfie my self touching the grounds of their proceedings; and spake with the persons of greatest influence, both in the Army, and of the Ministery, some whereof I found most earnest *against them, because they acted beyond and against their Commission*, who since have *turned tail*, as I may so speak. But so little satisfaction I received, that from that time forward I ever declined from the *Army*. Next, when that *abhorred* Conspiracy for the death of our late *Soveraign* began to ripen, and was drawing near unto execution, I my self with some others addres'd our selves both unto the *General*, and the *Lieutenant-general Cromwel*. The first we found civil, and, as we thought, *flexible*; the other (I must now speak it) I plainly *fell out* with. And, though some way *related* to him, and having merited some good interest in him, yet *from that day I never spake with him*, nor did ever after come near unto him, but reflected on him with *horror*. *Beho'd, before God I lie not*, and all that have ever known me this *twelve years* day and upward can bear me witness. Yet for some few days after this *(for I speak as I shall answer before the judgment-seat of Christ)* being over-powered, against *my own* judgment, by the authority of some, whose reason I preferred far before my own, whereas I had before publickly appeared against that *unexemplified* impiety; I was so weak, as to resile and recal what I had said in the same place. But (which I desire the Reader to take notice of) I was soon after so oppressed in my spirit, both with the sense of the *horror* of that act, the destruction of the King (which I thought I saw to be *fatal*

Note.

Gal. 1. 20.

2 Cor. 5.

Note.

to

to the Nation, and an *irrecoverable evil*, and ſuch, in its proportion, as was the death of *Chriſt* our Lord and Saviour, unto *Jeruſalem*) as alſo with my *own guilt*, in recalling what I had well ſpoken, that *I could hardly keep from ſinking in deſpair* in my mind; and the *ſpirits of my body* and my nerves were ſo reſolved and loo.ened, that though I felt neither cold nor pain, yet I could not lie in my bed without perpetual *ſhaking*, as if I had had an ague: This brought reſtleſneſs and want of ſleep with it, and ſo into the peril of ſome further evil. But upon the reception of ſome Phyſick, and with-drawing a little into the Country, through Gods mercy I recovered that, but not my peace and inward quiet, untill I had *publickly* again declared my return unto my former thoughts, concerning the death of his Majeſty, and with this *Emphaſis*, *That I muſt ſpeak it, though it ſhould be the laſt I ſhould ever ſpeak unto them.* And I was afterwards look'd upon with ſuch an eye, that I was in danger ſince to be laid in priſon there, (as they term'd it) for *Malignancy*. And about that time, my ſelfe and another Scholar of the *Independent* way (but of too good a ſpirit for that Schiſm) did draw a *Letter* to have been preſented to the *General*, (but by my neglect omitted) by way of diſſwaſion from that enterpriſe. And this alſo may be a further proof of the integrity of my return to my *Allegiance*, that I refuſed the *Engagement*, (which I deſire may be noted) although the Commiſſioners about it, ſate in the ſame Town where I lived, and yet do. And in my publick Sermons in the Lecture * near where I live, I concealed not my ſpirit. Neither have any other in theſe parts had, for the time above ſpecified, any other conceptions of me. But the greateſt demonſtration of all was, that *Anno* 1659. when, *God is witneſs*, I did not know, nor could foreſee, any preſent ground to believe, that I ſhould live to ſee any change of the Government that then was; I publiſhed the ſum and *heads* of theſe *Retractations* (as was noted above, and as they are in the *next Chapter* of this Treatiſe) for the diſcharge of my

Note.

Mr. *Tho. Waterh.*

* At *Aleſb. Com. Bucks.*

Note.

conscience (though I knew it hazardous to my outward condition) whether I liv'd or dy'd. And I took, and do take great comfort in it, and humbly *bless God* for the putting it into my heart, and giving me opportunity to perfect and publish it, And *necessitating* me thereunto, by that contest about *Baptism*, and the printing thereof. In which also, I hope, and have heard, that there hath been some service performed to the Church. Yea, at the publishing of this now, I am not without manifold fears; so great *sins* committed against *God*, and so great *animosities* among *men*, that it threatens this *Kingdom (divided against it self*, and *in great measure from God)* the danger of not standing. And I may come to answer for what I now write. 'But the Lord perfect his power in 'my weakness, and he grant, that the godly sorrow which 'he hath effected in my heart, in the resentment of the 'premises, and which hath wrought this repentance, may 'never be repented of; nor that there ever be cause that 'I *retract* these *retractations*, *Amen*. Yea, there may be those, who having lost me, may, by some artifice, effect, that I shall lose those whom they think I now intend to win; that so, being by both deserted, I might be ruined. But God, who sees their plots, and my plainness in this affair, will, I hope, disappoint them. But if he shall, for his glory, and my further mortification, permit them, I hope my suffering shall be like that of *Mephibosheth*, (for even *David* may be abused) by a treacherous *Ziba* for my *Loyalty*, not like that of *Shimei* for my *Apostacy*. And that I shall never prove either * *Traditor* or *Proditor*, false to *this Church*, or faithless to my *Country*. *Quia qui in pace, militibus suis futuram pranunciat pugnam, dabit militantibus in congressione victoriam.* 'Be-'cause he that hath warned his Souldiers of the approach-'ing Battel, will also in the conflict assist to victory. And, I may give them this *taste* of my spirit, and his grace; That whereas upon his *Majesties* return (by *prayer*) I was often importuned to ask, and assured to have; I *wilfully* let slip the season, that I might evidence I did not

Matth. 12.

2 Cor. 12.

2 Cor. 7.

2 Sam. 19. 27. 1 King. 2.

* *Qui Sacr. libros tradebant ethnicis.*

Cypr. Epist. 2. l. 1.

not follow *Christ* for the *Loaves*, nor the *King* for a *Living*. As also, that I might by the *publishing this*, (being not onely my *retractation*, but *confession* also of my faith) clearly be *known*, and so no *error personæ*, or *ignorantia facti*, be complained of afterward. Besides, *Providence* hath so disposed in outward matters, that I may in the state I *am*, perhaps not uncomfortably subsist without much addition.

Sect. 6.

Proof, that the Author went no further.

'Now for close and confirmation, that my lapse was not so exorbitant (through the mercy of God) as to my *principles*, in *either* of the former causes, I shall subjoyn a passage touching each out of those my actings, which were most eminent in these particulars; and first for the *War*. In that Discourse wherein I gave Answer in the University unto Dr. *Feams* Book, at its first appearance, there are these words. *Object.* 3. 'But the King forbids 'this help, (*viz.* by the *War*) and commands the con-'trary: Now where the word of a King is, there is 'power, and his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion. And 'I counsel thee, obey the Kings commandment, and 'that because of the Oath of God. And who shall say to 'the King, What dost thou? And, He that *resists*, resists 'the Ordinance of God, &c. *Answ.* We are not to take 'notice of the Kings commands as they look upon the 'publick, but by his *Laws*, which are his deliberate 'will—— and by those whom the Law hath appointed 'interpreters of it. And then indeed, when a King 'comes in his Laws, he is *more than a man*, for he is 'the *Minister of God*, and whosoever resists, *resists the* 'Ordinance of God, *and he that resists shall receive to* 'himself *damnation*. *Object.* 4. But the King saith, He 'proceedeth according to *Law*; who shall judge? *Resp.* 'The *same body* rightly gathered, that made the Law,

Serm. on *Judg* 5. 23. *Jun* 19 1642. at *Trin. Ch.* in *Camb.*
Prov. 19.
Eccles. 8. *Ibid.* vers. 4.
Rom. 13.

i. e. the

i. e. the Common-wealth can best judge of its own meaning. And seeing Law is not declared by the King but in his *Courts*; and the higher Court being that of *Parliament*, we are to rest in their declaration, unless we *see* manifestly to the *contrary*. By which passage it doth appear, that there was this especially that did misguide me, *viz.* The *misapplication* of some true *principles*. First, That the Law of Nature allowing *self-preservation* to a Nation as well as a Man; it might be endeavoured in case of *necessity*, as to *particular* Laws, *illegally*. Which is untrue; for, *We must not do evil that good may come thereof*. Secondly, That the *King* being always to be obey'd in his *Laws* declared in his *Courts*, and the *Parliament* being the highest Court; therefore what the two *H. H.* did declare to be Law, was so; wherein there was a doubble mistake. 1. That the two Houses were the *Parliament* in exclusion of, and opposition to the *King*, (that I say not a lesser part, for number of *Lords and Commons*, though enough in formality of Law.) 2. That it was Law which they declared to be so, though *no Law* was shewed, but a sentence out of *Bracton*, who wrote in *Hen.* 3. in the time of the *Barons Wars*, and who in another place hath the clean contrary, as shall appear; and it may be a sentence or two out of some other *private* Lawyer, against the *constant* sentence of Lawyers, and the known *practice* of the Law and *Parliaments*. This for the War; that I might shew, that *Law*, the *Authority of Parliament* mistaken, and no private headiness, did transport me. Next, for *Independency*: In the Tract I published on that Argument, there is this passage, 'Now the scope of this Treatise is, not to unfasten the 'ground of all Church-combination, and to lay a foun-'dation for *absolute Independency*. The conveniency, and 'sometime, the *necessity* of *Classes* and *Synods* for direc-'on and *determination*, and that by *Divine Authority*, 'is freely acknowledged, (though no with power pro-'perly *Juridical*) yea, I add, that *Episcopacy* it self was, 'and might be maintained, as also *Presbytery* (if confined

Rom. 3.

See the Declaration of 2 H. H. *Novemb.* 2. 1642. in answer to that of the Kings, *May* 26. pag. 22.

Vindiciæ Catholicæ cap. 1. *p.* 3.

to

'to a particular Church, and not subjected to Superior 'Ecclesiastical power, which was the most antient way 'of it) might both consist together in a particular one. Again, 'The violation of *Parochial* limits, oft-times 'manifestly prejudicial to edification—— yet am not I pag. 69. 'for the drawing of any godly, able, and faithful Mini-'sters people from him, who is for the substance of 'Reformation, though with many defects in lesser 'things. Again, 'But this is not their (my own and some 'others) opinion, that it is *essentially* requisite to the pag. 79. 'being of a *visible* Church, that it meet in *one place*; 'they hold it (*de bene esse*) for conveniency, not abso-'lutely necessary. From which passages it is evident, first; That not such an *Independency* as some practised was pleaded for; but such as might agree, not with *Presbytery* onely, but with *Episcopacy*; and not onely with a Parochial Church, or the Church of a City, but such as might agree with a *Nation* also. As indeed the Church of *England*, and other National Churches, are independent as to right of *Jurisdiction*, from all other Churches. There being no such thing *in re*, as an *universal Visible* governing Church (as I have, I think, evinced in the Treatise above mentioned) but every expression in that passage I own not. But to conclude, I repeat that of *Bucer*: *Habet jam—— quicunque hæc legent, ut in contentionem —— pertractus sim, in eâ me gesserim, & ab eâ Domini ope, ereptus sim; quæque ratio sit consilii mei, quæ causa, quod* retractare *in animum induxi.* 'Thus have 'you (as saith mine Author) how I was *drawn* into this 'contestment; how I *behaved* my self in it; and how, 'by the mercy of God, I have been delivered out of it; 'upon what grounds also and reasons I thought fit 'to *retract*.

[The Chapter following was published in *May* 1659. *verbatim* (in the entrance of a Book written by the Author in defence of Infant-Baptism, entituled, *The Pastor and the Clerk**; when there was neither appearance abroad,

abroad, nor apprehenſion in his own thoughts, of that change of publick affairs which Providence hath effected ſince) with this Inſcription, *A Retractation, or Recalling*, &c.]

CHAP. III.

What the Author doth retract, both in General and in Particular.

1. THere having hapned two very great alterations in the body of this Nation, the one in the *Church*, the other in the *Common-weal*; and my ſelf having been not onely involved and active in them publickly, but alſo in *print* engaged my ſelf for the defence of both: And having, ſince that, had my work brought *to be tried by the fire of what ſort it was*, and *perceiving it to be burnt*, and my ſelf to have ſuffered loſs, yet ſaved (through the mercy of *God*, and holding of the *foundation*) *yet ſo, as by fire*, through afflictions without, and the ſpirit of conviction and bondage within: and having digeſted theſe conſiderations now about ten years, becauſe *(neſcit vox miſſa reverti)* a word paſt cannot be unſpoken when we will; being now alſo in age, beyond half a Century, (the ſeaſon of attaining to ſome prudence, as the wiſe have thought.) And laſtly, being now again to appear in publick, after ſome twelve years ſilence; I thought it my duty to follow his example, who having ſpoken *words that he underſtood not, did abhor himſelf, and repent in duſt and aſhes.* And his, who was contented rather *to take ſhame before ſinners on earth, than to be confounded before the holy Angels in heaven.* And his alſo, who was *willing* * *Irrideant me arrogantes & nondum ſalubriter proſtrati, & elſi à te Deus meus; Ego tamen confitear tibi dedecora mea, in laude tua. Aug. Conf. lib. 4. cap. 1.*

Ariſtot. polit. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Job 42. 6.

Hieron. epiſt. 8. T. 4. Eraſm.

to

to be derided of arrogant men, and such as were not savingly dejected and humbled, whilst he confessed his own sin unto God's praise.

2. Having therefore been excited to consideration of causes, by that method which our great Master hath directed us to, *viz.* to discern the tree, and search the root by the proper fruits and effects of it; I have found, *as to my self*, that I had indeed a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and I do hereby *retract and recall, repent of, and bewail* whatsoever I have either spoken or written for the fomenting of the late unnatural divisions in the *State* and *Church*. And *particularly*. What I have said of the one in a *Sermon before the House of Commons, Febr.* 22. *Anno* 1642. as also what I have disputed for the other in a book, entituled, *Vindiciæ Catholicæ*, in Answer to Mr. *Hudson's* Essence of the visible Church. Although I do not hereby declare my self for *his opinion*. This Book was published *Anno* 1647. Matth. 7. 20. 1. The sole path to a found peace. 2. *Vindiciæ Catholicæ.*

3. My *Engagement* hereunto is, that having done more in the former than my spirit can now own; and knowing, that he *loves himself too perversly that is willing another should still erre, that his own wandring should remain undiscerned*; I thought it my part to acknowledge where *I have been mistaken, to those that have erred by me, that they may either return with me, or have no longer a companion of me.* *Aug. Ep.* 7.

Quanto enim melius & utilius, ubi ipse erravit, alii non errent, comites erroris quorum admonitu errorem careat. Quod si noluerit, falcem non habeat id. Ibid.

4. My encouragement is, the promise of him who cannot lie, namely; that *he who confesseth his sin, and forsaketh it, shall find mercy*. And the prudence and piety of his Spouse, and my indulgent Mother; 'who if any man be 'overtaken in a fault, is ready to restore such an one in 'the spirit of meekness; To forgive also in the person of Christ, and confirm her love toward such with tenderness. Prov. 28. 13. Gal. 6. 1. 2 Cor. 2. 7. 10.

5. And my ſuit unto her is, (in all humility of mind) that ſhe would *ſtrive together in prayer unto God for me*, *that he that hath wrought this good work in me, would ſtabliſh, ſtrengthen me, and perfect it until the day of Chriſt.*

Rom. 15. 30.
Phil. 1. 6.

6. My *ſcope* in this is not to preſcribe or define unto other men, but to diſcharge my own ſoul. Neither to gratifie any perſons or partie, farther than they approve themſelves unto *God*. Nor to make way for any thing unto my ſelf, but peace with *God* and my own ſpirit; as alſo with thoſe who call upon *God* with a pure heart, (in other things having perhaps, more uncomfortable aſpects of future iſſues, than to expect much ſetling). Neither is my ſcope to imply, that there was nothing in the State or Church that needed Reformation; but to ſignifie onely, that the Phyſick my ſtomach could not bear, whatſoever purging might be needful.

Jer. 45. 4, 5.

Caution.

7. By the premiſes I would not be thought, either ſo void of *Ingenuity* or *Religion*, as not to acknowledge, that I do enjoy both the exerciſe of my Miniſtery, (an unſpeakable liberty *) and the maintenance of my family thereby, through the favour of the *perſons late in power, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical.* Beſides conſiderable engagements from certain *others*, different in their opinion from my ſelf in theſe affairs. All which I reſent with gratitude and obſervance, yea, and with prayer alſo.

* *Ejuſque prædicationis plena libertas, tantum eſt bonum, ut nullius vel lingua dicendo, vel mens cogitando ſatis æſtimatur.* Tremel. *præfat. dedic. ad* R. Eliz. *præfix. ante ſuam* Syr. T. *verſion.*

8. If it be objected, that I build again the things that I have deſtroyed, I grant it freely; but add withal, that *whoſoever deſtroys* (ſo in the Margin) *the Temple of God*, and endeavours not to build it up again, *him ſhall God deſtroy.* As the *reſiſting of the Ordinance of God* in the Civil State, *procures to a mans ſelf condemnation.*

1 Cor. 3. 17. φθείρει.
Rom. 13.

9. Finally, What is here but briefly and jejunely touched, may (if God permit) be more fully opened in convenient ſeaſon. *John Ellis.*

[Thus far was then publiſhed] Touching

Touching the two former *Tractates*, I may add this caution. That for ſubſtance they are *both* of them *Orthodox* and *uſeful*, and ſuch in the compoſing whereof, induſtry was uſed ſomewhat more than ordinary. A few paſſages at the latter end of the Sermon, in reference of the defence of the *War* againſt the *King*, I do here *retract*. And though I ſuppoſe I have evinced in the other Tractate, that there is no Catholick or *univerſal viſible Governing Church*, and ſo laid ground for the Independency of the *Church of England*, and other National Chriſtian Churches; yet that new practiſed Iudependency, beginning at *Separation*, and collecting themſelves thence into ſmall *bodies*, and afterward aſſuming a right of *non-ſubjection* to any Juridical Superior Power *Eccleſiaſtical*; I do alſo recal by theſe preſents, and *retract*.

Vindiciæ Catholicæ; or, The Rights of particular Chriſtian Churches aſſerted, in Anſwer to Mr. *Hudſon*.

CHAP. IV.

The Cauſes of the Authors falling; *and firſt, the* Negative, *and ſuch as were* not.

AS in the Creation, *Negations* did precede the formation of things, *darkneſs* before *light*, and *emptineſs* before *repletion*; And as in Procreation, *privation* goeth before; So the *Apoſtle* writing to the Churches, begins at *Negatives*, and what *were not* the cauſes of his preaching: 'Our exhortation (ſaith he) was *not* of deceit 'nor guile. Give me leave therefore to imitate both Nature and Religion here, and to repreſent what were *not* the motives of my falling. Leſt any man ſhould think, that corrupt deſignments, either in reſpect of *perſons*

Gen. 1.

1 Theſſ. 2. 3.

or of *things*, have tempted me. And first, for *persons*, both those I have departed from, as also those I now adhere unto. No personal offence at the one, or flattering notion of the other, have at all provok'd me. Neither despair of gaining by those now gone; nor hope of vantage by these rising Luminaries, do attract or draw me. For I do not now begin my Retractations; having them published them (as we saw above) when neither cloud from heaven, nor vapour from the earth, did seem to promise any shower of blessing. When neither Sun, nor Moon, nor Star appeared, but all hope that we should be saved was even vanished.

Sect. 1.

Neither distaste of, nor affection unto persons.

And first, for persons. To which I shall the rather speak; because there is danger of falling into *Scylla*, whilst we would avoid *Charybdis*; and that a * *Proselyte* may by *Pharisaism* and *hypocrisie* become two-fold more the *child of hell* than he was by *profaneness*. Therefore that I may not seem to commit the same error against some now, that was admitted against others before; I shall represent my spirit and opinion touching persons of the side I have deserted; and then of those, whom in these cases I return unto. 'First, We are obliged to 'love and *honor all men*, though especially the household of faith. St. *Austin* not onely styles the persons he *wrote against*, or had *departed* from, sometimes * *honored*, or *reverend*, or *beloved brethren*; but also expresses his 'spirit toward them, which I desire may be mine also, in reference unto those I have now reflected on. *Illi in vos saviant, qui nescium cum quo labore, verum inveniatur, & quam difficile cavеantur errores. Illi in vos saviant, qui nesciunt quam rarum & arduum sit, carnalia phantasmata, pia mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos saviant, qui nesciunt cum quantâ difficultate sanatur oculus*

* Matth. 23. 18.

Matth. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 17. Gal. 6.

* *Dominis prædicalibus & dilectissimis fratribus medaurensib.* ep. 42. *Dilectissimo fratri vincentio* epist. 48.

oculus interioris hominis ut poſſit intueri ſolem —— Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt, quibus ſuſpiriis & gemitibus ſtat, ut ex quantacunque parte poſſit intelligi Deus. Poſtremo, illi in vos ſæviant, qui nullo tali errore deceptí ſunt, quaſi vos deceptos vident. Ego ſævire in vos omnino non poſſum; quos ſicut meipſum illo tempore, ita nunc debeo ſuſtinere, & tanta patientia vobiſcum agere, quanta mecum egerunt proximi mei, cum in veſtro dogmate ceecus errarem. Aug. contr. epiſt. q. voc. Fundam. cap. 2.

'Let them (ſaith he) rage againſt you, who do 'not know with what *labour* truth is found, and how di- 'ficult it is to avoid errors. Let them rage againſt you, 'who know not how *rare* and hard a thing it is, to ſcatter 'fleſhly fancies by the light of a pious heart. Let them 'rage againſt you, who underſtand not how choice a 'thing it is ſo to cure the eye of the inward man, that it 'may be able to behold the Sun. Let them rage againſt 'you, who know not with what *ſighs and groans* it is ef- 'fected, that even the *back-parts* of God may be known. 'Laſtly, Let them rage againſt you, who have not been 'deceived with any ſuch error, as they ſee you to be de- 'ceived with. For my ſelf, I can by no means be vio- 'lent againſt you, (he means their *perſons*, and 'the perſons of thoſe, that were not *turbulent*) 'whom I ought now to bear, as I did then my ſelf, and 'to deal with you in the ſame degree of patience, that 'my friends did with me, when I blindly wandred in 'your opinions.

1. The difficulty of Truth.

2. Beſides, the perſons and worth of ſome, from whom I now decline, challengeth all due reſpect, and ſome of thoſe, whom I now adhere unto as Rule. We ſhould be injurious to *vertue it ſelf*, ſaith Mr. *Hooker*, if we did derogate from them, whom their *induſtry* hath made great. *Bucer* acknowledgeth both the uſefulneſs of the labours even of the very *Heathens* toward Religion, and highly predicates the Religion and piety of ſome of them. *Neminem vero offendat, quod & Philoſophorum laborem profuiſſe ad Evangelium puto: omnis enim veritas a Deo eſt, & veritas ſane plurima in ſcriptis Philoſophorum*

2. The worth, and unworthineſs of perſons on both ſides. *R. Hooker præfat. ad Pol. Eccleſ. n. 2.* *Bucer* in Joh. 4. 31. &c.

rum & Poetarum legitur. Jam quantulumcumque id fuerit, quod de veritate Philosophi tradiderunt, ad Deum certè animos hominum attraxerunt, eosque ad Evangelium præparârunt —— sed quid opus est verbis? Qui vel non in Cicerone, *miram Dei solidæque pietatis cognitionem agnoscit, eum necesse est ignorare, quid sit &* Deus & pietas. 'Let no man (saith he) be offended, 'that I judge the labours of the Philosophers to have 'been useful unto the Gospel, for *all truth is of God*; 'and verily there are many truths in the writings of the '*Philosophers* and of the *Poets*. Now how little soever 'it were of truth that they delivered, surely it drew the 'minds of men unto *God*, and by that, did prepare them 'unto the Gospel —— But what need words? he 'that doth not acknowledge even in *Cicero* a wonderful 'knowledge of God, and of sound (he meaneth serious, 'not saving) piety; it must needs be, that he knoweth 'neither what God nor piety means. Thus far he. St. *Paul* himself gives testimony to some of the Heathen *Poets*, and calls one of them a kind of *Prophet*, and also a *true witness*; and gives a high Elogy of zeal to the *Jews* and *Pharisees*, even then whilst he writes against them. St. *Austin* (in that notable *Directory* of his for the study of *Divinity*, namely, his Books *de Doctrina Christiana*) commends a Book of one of his Adversaries, and an Heretick (containing certain *Rules* for the understanding of the Scripture) unto the reading of his hearers, and inserts much of it into his own Tractate, and calls it, *Elaboratum & utile opus*, an *elaborate and useful work*. *Quod ideo dicendum putavi, ut liber ipse legatur à studiosis, quia plurimùm adjuvat ad intelligendas scripturas.* 'Which I therefore say (saith he) that the Book it self 'may be read by the studious, for it very much helpeth 'to the understanding of the Scripture. Our *Lord* and *Saviour* by his own example hath instructed us, upon just occasion, to declare our selves very freely against the vanities that be in men, whether vice or error; and yet to exosculate and kiss their vertues, as 'tis said himself

Cicero.

Tit. 1.

Rom. 10. 2.

Austin's Directory.

De doctr. Chr. lib. 3. cap. 30.

himself did, 'He *loved*, or as * some read it, he *kissed* 'the young man, for the good things that he saw in him; and yet inveighed against his covetousness. So did our *Saviour* acknowledge what was commendable in those Churches, whose *Candlesticks*, for the things he had *against* them, he was ready to remove; yea, in that Church which he was ready to *spew out of his mouth*, for 'tis said, *He loved it*. According to this, our late *Sovereign*, speaking of some *Ministers*, against whom, about the late contests in Church and State, he had conceived some displeasure, yet saith of them: 'Whom I respect 'for that *worth* and *piety* which may be in them. Finally, My opinion of the persons of many of those whom I have left, and of those whom I now cleave unto, both in the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* affair; I shall represent in the words of one in repute with the best of both parties. Who having effectually, and with full acrimony, written in a certain point, against the *Papists*, concludes thus; *Neque sic mihi succenseant viri inter Papistas probi, honesti, honorati. Non enim in ipsos, sed in ipsorum hæc à me scribuntur religionem, propter quam unam religionem fit, ut ill neq; fratres à nobis appellari possint —— Cum interim non diffitear, nec diffiteri possim, illorum permultos maximis dignos esse laudibus; quòd Dei sint timentes, quòd equitatis studiosi, quòd honesti, quòd denique variis virtutibus ornati: sicut contra inter nostros quam plurimos esse minimè negamus; qui hac tantum de causâ inter fratres censeantur; quod eandem Christi puram religionem nobiscum profiteantur. Cum alioqui, nihil minus revera sint quam fratres, propter innumerabilia, quibus scatent vitia.* 'But let 'not any worthy, honest, and honorable *Papist* (saith he) 'be offended with me; for what I have written is not 'against them, but against their opinions in Religion. 'For which cause of *Religion alone* it is, that we cannot 'call them *Brethren* (he means in a *strict* consideration) 'whereas in the mean time I do not deny, nor indeed 'can do; but that there are very many of them worthy 'of the highest commendations; as being men fearing 'God,

* *Casaubon. in Marc.* 10. 21. *ex Origine.*

Rev. 2. 2, 3 4, 5.

Laodicea, chap. 3. 16.

Eicon Basilic. Medit. 24.

Zanchi. de divortiis, lib. 2. *in ipso fine.*

'God, studious of equity, just men, and, in a word, 'adorn'd with many vertues. Whereas on the contrary, 'we cannot deny at all, but that there are exceeding ma-'ny of *ours*, whom for this *onely* cause we acknowledge 'for *brethren*: because they profess the same *ours Reli-'gion* of Christ with us. Whereas otherwise, they are no-'thing less than brethren, by reason of the innumerable 'vices wherewith they even swarm. Thus far he.

3. Personal Engagements.

3. But unto the personal worth, and useful labours of some, whom I recede from; my own private engagements oblige me unto acknowledgment. *Austin* doth confess, that he obtained a place of *employment* and *subsistence* by the favour of the *Manichees*, even then, when he desired to be freed from them; which was in part my own condition: *Ego ipse ambivi per eosdem ipsos Manichaeus vanitatibus ebrios, quibus ut carerem ibam.* 'I endeavoured to obtain the place (saith he) by those 'same persons, that were drunken with the errors of the 'Manichees, and I went, that I might be delivered from 'them. *Et veni* Mediolanum ad Ambrosium——— *Ad eum autem ducebar abs te nesciens, ut per eum ad te sciens ducerer.* 'And so I came to *Millan* unto *Am-'brose*, unto whom I was brought by thee, unwitting to 'my self; that by him, I might be brought to thee (O 'God) on better knowledge. ——— *appropinquabam sensim & nescivi.* 'I did thereby draw near unto thee 'by degrees, and knew it not. The like hapned to my self also. For the *absence* from those wanderers, and the *privacy* of the Country, and the urgences of the affairs of the *place*, together with the *unfaithfulness* of those who failed in their engagement (to do all offices for me in the Church affair but preaching) occasioned me, that, as I was awakened before in the *Civil* affair; and *wam-bled* also in that of the *Ecclesiastical*: upon farther *consideration, reading*, and *prayer*; God let me hear a voice behind me, saying: 'This is the way, walk in it. So that though, through the defertion of those, who should have assisted me (and promised to do) I have been consi-

Aug. confess. lib. 5. cap. 13.

ibid.

ibid.

Note.

Isa. 30.

derably

ſiderably *detrimented in my outward condition*, by the place they commended me unto; yet by this means *my inward man, in true knowledge*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *hath been renewed day by day*. What hand God will lead us home by is in his diſpoſing; ſometimes by our own wandrings and ſins; as *Oneſimus* was brought to *Paul*, and my ſelf to the opportunity of light by thoſe, who were themſelves in darkneſs. But yet we muſt remember; 'Thou ſhalt not abhor an *Edomite*, for he is thy 'brother; thou ſhalt not abhor an *Egyptian*, becauſe thou 'waſt a ſtranger in his land. From whence we learn, That differences in Religion, muſt not obliterate the duty we owe to our *natural* or *civil* relations, and ſuch as have done us good, although by accident. This as to perſons.

Col. 3.
2 Cor. 4.
Philem.
Deur. 23. 7.

SECT. 2.

Nor hope of outward things.

2. NExt for things, and *advantage* worldly. I may uſurp here, and I hope truly, that expreſſion of the Apoſtle above mentioned: 'Our exhortation was 'not of *deceipt*, nor of uncleanneſs, nor of guile; I may adde, 'nor of *gain*, nor of vain-glory. For I coveted no 'mans ſilver, nor gold, nor apparel; But ſo ſpake, not 'as pleaſing men but God, who trieth our hearts. Nei-'ther at any time *deſigned* we flattering words, nor a 'cloak of *covetouſneſs*, God is *witneſs*, yea, and man alſo. For I neither endevoured nor received, though offered, (as ſome things were) any thing material all that time, either of *advance* or *advantage*; but was then, and am ſince, in much worſe condition, than I was before I engaged that way, and then thoſe who did that party far leſs ſervice. And this *one* thing may, I hope, excuſe me, though not *à toto* and wholly, yet *à tanto* and in part. Seeing our *Lord* himſelf makes it a note of an honeſt and true meaning perſon, *viz.* that he ſeeks not his *own*

1 Theſſ. 2. 3.
Note.
Joh. 7. 18.

honor or advantage, *but of him that ſends him.* This title of integrity and of an *honeſt man*, I had the honor in my younger time, to receive from * *two Witneſſes*, that were prime and *Primate*, in their rank, of this whole Nation, and upon that account was preferred by them both. Now,

* Dr. *George Abbot*, and Dr. *William Laud*, L. L. Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*.

Principibus placuiſſe viris, &c.

'Tis not the leaſt of commendations, that
We pleaſe ſuch men as are both good and great.

1 Cor. 9. 15. And it were better for me doubtleſs *to die*, than to make either the opinion of ſuch perſons, or my own glorying on this behalf *really* void. For this is my comfort, the 2 Cor. 7. 12. teſtimony of a *good conſcience*, that in godly *ſincerity* I have had my converſation in the world, and more abundantly in both theſe affairs, wherein I hazarded all that was dear unto me. 'I am become a fool in glorying, 2 Cor. 12. 11. but the occaſion hath conſtrained me. 'Yet becauſe not 'he that commendeth himſelf is approved, but whom 1 Cor. 4. 4. 'the *Lord* commendeth. And though I know nothing 'by my ſelf (as to any evil intendment) yet am I not 1 Joh. 3. 20. 'thereby juſtified, becauſe God is greater than our 'hearts, and knoweth all things in them, better than we Pſal. 143. 2. 'do our ſelves. Enter not therefore into judgment 'with thy ſervant, O Lord, for in thy ſight ſhall no man 'living be juſtified. I conclude theſe negative cauſes In his Anſwer to the Q. Commiſſioners, *April* 2. 1554. with that *memorable* profeſſion of Mr. *Ridley*, Biſhop and Martyr, touching the *change* of his judgment from Popery unto the Proteſtant Religion; 'Albeit (ſaith 'he) plainly to confeſs unto you the truth, in theſe 'things which ye now demand of me, I have thought 'otherwiſe in times paſt than now I do; yet *God* I call 'to record upon my ſoul, I lie not, I have *not* altered 'my judgment as now it is, either by *conſtraint* of any 'man or laws, either for the *dread* of any danger of 'this world, or for any hope of *commodity*; but *onely*

for

'for the love of the *truth* revealed unto me by the 'grace of God, as I am undoubtedly perſwaded, in his 'holy *Word*, and in the reading of the *antient* faithful 'Fathers. Thus far he. And the ſame is my profeſſion before the ſame Perſon, and with the ſame ſolemnity that he appeal'd unto, and uſed therein. The Negative cauſes are ended.

CHAP. V.

The cauſes poſitive, *and the occaſions of the Authours ſliding: and firſt in general.*

SECT. I.

God Almighty.

BUT becauſe, *Scire, eſt per cauſam cognoſcere; We doe then know, when we ſee the reaſons* and originals of things; thoſe, of my falling, I ſhall next deſign. They are colligible both from the *dimenſions* and *Ubi's: upward*, viz. and *downward*, *outward* and *inward*. *God* Almighty, though he tempteth no man, either by infuſion of evil, or for evil ends; yet our prayer againſt it, from him, doth imply that, he doth ſometimes, and that juſtly, *lead into temptation*. Hence that of the Father, *Bona mea inſtituta tua ſunt & dona tua; mala mea delicta mea ſunt & judicia tua*, i.e. 'What is good in 'me, is of thine appointment and donation; what is 'evil, is of my ſin and thy judgment. For though the *Tempter* be not wanting, and, *ipſe diabolus ſuam quidem habet cupiditatem nocendi; facultatem non niſi qua datur,*

Τότε ἐσμὲν ὅταν τῶν αἰτίαν εἰδῶμεν. *Anal. l. 1. c. 2.*

Aug. Confeſſ. l. 1. c. 2.

Aug. de Geneſ. ad lit. lib. 11. cap. 12. *vel ad ſubvertenda ac perdenda vaſa iræ; vel ad humiliandа ſive probanda vaſa miſericordiæ:* 'The *Devil* (as ſaith 'Saint *Auſtine*) hath indeed a deſire to do miſchief, but 'power he hath none, but what is given him; either for 'the overthrow and deſtruction of the veſſels of wrath; 'or the humiliation and triall, of the veſſels of mercy. And this God doth for gracious purpoſes. As firſt, for

Eccleſ. 3. 18. *conviction, that men may know themſelves to be but beaſts,* as the Wiſe-man ſpeaks. Next for *correction* and *humiliation.* God ſhaketh us, that the ſoyl may come up, we may ſee it and be aſhamed. He draweth out our cor-

Deut. 8. 2. ruptions by tentations, *to humble and to trie what is in the heart:* Where, we have them both together. And

2 Chron. 33. 31. ſeverally, firſt for diſcovery. *God left him* (ſaith the Text of *Hezekiah*) 'to know (or make known) all that 'was in his heart. Next for humiliation hereby. It is ſaid

verſ. 26. of him (in the ſame place) that 'Hezekiah humbled 'himſelf, after that his heart was lifted up. So true is

Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 14. cap. 13. that, *Audeo dicere, ſuperbis eſſe utile cadere in aliquod apertum manifeſtumque peccatum, unde ſibi diſpliceant, qui jam ſibi placendo ceciderant. — Hoc dicit ſacer Pſalmus, Imple facies eorum ignominia ut quærant nomen tuum Domine,* &c. 'I dare be bold to ſpeak it (ſaith he)

Note. 'that it is good for high and conceited men, to fall into 'ſome open and apparent ſin; that thence they may 'come to diſlike themſelves a little; who by being 'over pleaſed with themſelves, fell into tranſgreſſion. 'And this is it, which the holy Pſalm ſaith, Fill their

Pſal. 83. 16. 'faces with ſhame, that they may ſeek thy Name, O 'Lord, &c.

SECT. 2.

Satan.

2. AGain, although Satan, the *firſt ſinner*, is *virtually* in every ſin; yet more ſpecially in thoſe *formally*

mally he is; which in their *Idea* and nature, do *imitate* his original. *viz. Apoſtacy* from, and *rebellion* againſt *God* and good *order*, both in the Church and in the Common-wealth. For theſe are more properly *ſpiritual wickednesſes in high places*, and thoſe *real lies* againſt the truth, whereof he is the genuine *father*. Though the *ſeed* of all ſin be in us, yet the *heat* that excites it, and the *moiſture* that foments it, and the *midwifry* that brings it forth, in great evils, is more formally from Sathan. And where there is *remarkable* miſcarriage of the underſtanding, or eminent pravity of the will. Seldom is it, in ſuch great lapſes, and, as it were, from the *pinacle* of the Temple; but that his hand is in it, who would have caſt our Lord and Saviour thence firſt. *Satan tempted David to number the people.* And, *Satan having now put into the heart of Judas to betray him.* And, Why hath *Satan* filled thy heart to lie to the holy Ghoſt? Again, Leſt *Satan* tempt you for your incontinency. Hence in great civil crimes among our ſelves, the form of *Indictment* runs, That ſuch an one moved by the *inſtigation of the Devil*, &c. committed this or that. *Quommodo Deus Pater genuit filium veritatem, ſic diabolus lapſus, genuit quaſi filium mendacium.* 'As 'God (ſaith he) the Father begat the Son, who is Truth; 'ſo *Satan* being fallen, hath begotten, as it were, his 'ſon alſo, which is Falſhood, for he is a lyer, and the 'father of it. The enemy then that ſows *theſe* Tares is 'the *devil*.

Ephes. 6. Joh. 8. Matth. 4. 2 Chron. 24. Joh. 13. Act. 5. 1 Cor. 7. *Aug.* Matth. 13.

SECT. 3.

Outward Cauſes.

THE *outward* cauſes of my wandring, were anſwerable unto all the points of Latitude, before me, behind me, on the right hand, and on the left. Firſt, *Before me*; the ſeeming *fairneſs* of the *way*, and the appearing 1. Before.

pearing *ſtraitneſs* of the *ſteps*, of thoſe who walked in it. And indeed, had the one been ſuch as the *Map* deſcribed; and the other ſuch as thoſe, who went out of *Hieruſalem* in the *ſimplicity of their hearts*, (though to as ill an action) or thoſe that at the *firſt* were ſuch, had they continued ſo; it might have been a temptation ſtill, as it was then (*malle errare cum Platone*) to chooſe, namely, almoſt to wander with ſo good company, rather than to keep path with other men. Again, *Behind me*. The dark, rugged, and *new-caſt* ways, that ſome *iron-ſhod* cattel had both *marred* and *ſtumbled* in. Who ſeem'd to verifie that; *Male humanis ingeniis natura* (he ſhould have ſaid *corrupta*) *conſuluit*, *quod plerunque non futura*, *ſed tranſacta perpendimus*. That is, 'Nature, in ſome 'men, hath ſet their wits awry, in that, for the moſt 'part, they weigh not their future, but their by-paſt 'actions. Now the former ſeemed to decline thoſe paths. Again, on the *right-hand*: The ſucceſs afterward of the one, Providence it ſelf ſeeming to pronounce for them, and that after ſolemn appeal thereunto of both ſides. And on the *left-hand*, the dyſaſters and calamities of the other; repreſenting it as fatal to all that eſpouſed that Cauſe and Party. wherein I forgat * that, *There is a juſt man that periſheth in his righteouſneſs, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his days in his iniquity.* That when we are directed '*to the Law and to the Teſti-'mony*; if we come before *God with an idol*, and *appeal* 'of another deſignment in our hearts; the Lord *may an-'ſwer according to our own hearts*. And laſtly, that ſometimes **God hath encreaſed the confuſion, by giving all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired; and brought that to paſs without effect, which the deſigners have propoſed as the beſt means to ſettle and compoſe the Nation.* 'Tis not therefore always true, *Victrix cauſa Deo placuit*; for, 'I have ſeen riches kept for the *hurt* of the owner, ſaith *Solomon*. And, 'He begetteth a *ſon*, and there is 'nothing in his hand.

2 Sam. 15. 11.

Cic.

2. Behind.

Q. Curtius, l. 8. non longè ab initio.

3. On the right hand.

4. On the left.

See the ſeveral Declarations of the Lords and Commons, eſpecially the Speeches of Mr. *Cromwel* to both H. H.

* Eccleſ. 7. 17. Iſa. 8. 10. Ezek. 14. 4, 5.

* His Majeſties Letter to Gen. *Monk* from *Breda*, *Apr.* 4. 1660.

Eccleſ. 5. 12, 13.

5. Add hereunto, Engagements of *acquaintance* and

5. Other Appendixes.

other-

otherwiſe, unto perſons of that party, and ſuch appendixes. Which like ſmaller Rillets to the Stream, though the wheel would have gone without them, yet did quicken and accellerate the motion.

SECT. 4.

Inward Cauſes.

4. BUt when all is ſaid, that will be found true, *Every man when he is tempted, is drawn away of his own concupiſcence and enticed*; for *God*, he tempteth no man properly. And as touching *Satan*, he indeed filled the heart of *Ananias* to lie to the holy Ghoſt, but the fault is laid on the man *himſelf*, *Why hath Satan filled thine heart?* And for motives from *without*, whether things or men, it excuſed neither *Judas* nor the *Jews*; that *Gods* counſel, *Satans* motion, *Ceſars* terror, and other things concurred unto Chriſts betraying. The reaſon is, becauſe *Gods decree* of events, *conſtreins* no mans will, nor prompts his reaſon, to uſe unlawful means. 'He does 'not need our lie or ſin. The *devil*, if we reſiſt him, will 'flee from us. And if we have faith and grace within, we ſhall overcome the world without.

Jam. 1. Act. 5. Act. 4. Joh. 13. 1. Job 13. 7. Jam. 4. 1 Joh. 5.

SECT. V.

More particular Cauſes, but common to both Controverſies.

BUt to come unto particulars. And though ſeveral might here be named, yet a few ſhall ſerve, and ſuch as tend moſt to *admonition*. And firſt, that which the Apoſtle makes *firſt* in theſe kind of lapſes. A *young Scholar* (as Mr. *Tinial* reads it) whether in years or judgment, if he be in the Miniſtery, will be apt (to a

1 Ungroundedneſs. 2. Conceitedneſs.

ſecond

1 Tim. 3. 6. *second* fault, namely) to be *puffed up*, and so fall into the *snare and condemnation of the devil*, (that is, into his sin, to wit, of *Apostasie*, and sedition against God and his Church) as the Apostle hath it. And again, in the same Epistle, speaking of an Heterodox Teacher, he puts them both together in one word, (for τετύφωται will bear both) and says, He is a fool, and proud, or *proud, knowing nothing*. Now we know, *pride goes before a fall*, and objects us unto temptation and opinions. *Quis his pollicitationibus non alliceretur; præsertim adolescentis animus cupidus veri, etiam nonnullorum in Scholâ doctorum hominum disputationibus superbus & garulus, qualem me tunc illi invenerunt?* Who would 'not have been perswaded by their promises? especially 'the mind of a young man thirsty for truth; and by the 'disputations of some men learned in the Schools, made 'proud and prating; such a one, as they then found me to 'be, saith St. *Austin*. I refuse not so great a president. If objects then unto temptations of opinions, and that in Gods just judgment (for *He resists the proud.*) And in his great mercy: *Salubriùs enim Petrus sibi displicuit quando flevit, quàm sibi placuit, quando præsumsit* —— 'For *Peter* (saith he) was more savingly displeased with 'himself when he wept, then when he was pleasing to 'himself and presumed, &c. And if the blessed Apostle 'did need the corrosive of sharp and bitter strokes, lest 'his heart should *swell*, with too great abundance of 'heavenly Revelations; Surely upon us, whatsoever 'God in this world doth, or shall inflict; it cannot seem 'more than our *pride* doth exact, not onely by way of 'revenge, but of *remedy*. Saith a learned and good man. Hence that of the Father noted above, namely; That it is good for high and conceited men to fall into some manifest sin, *ut tu eis placeas quærentibus nomen tuum, qui sibi placuerant quærendo suum*: 'That thou maist please 'them when they seek thy Name, who pleased themselves in seeking of their own.

1. Νιόφυτος.
2. Τετύφωται.

chap. 6. 4.

So in the Margin.

Prov. 16. 18.

Aug. de utilitate credendi, cap. 1.

Jam. 4.

Aug. de Civit. lib. 14. cap. 13.

R. Hook. Sermon of Pride, near the end.

2 Cor. 12.

Aug. de Civit. l. 14. cap. 13.

3. Neglect of Reading.

3. Hence the neglect of using such helps, and following

loving such directions, as in the improvement whereof I might have been preserved. *Negligence in study*, and of the *Ministry* of the Word, must needs have had, like some ominous Constellation, a sinister influence here. The Ministery is *onus etiam Angelicis humeris formidandum.* 'A burden that the shoulder of an Angel 'may shake under. Of which the Apostle; πρὸς ταῦτα τίς; 'For these things sufficient, what man is there? for so the expression may be rendred. Hence that of the same Author to all of this profession, πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, σεαυτῷ, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ταῦτα μελέτα. Which I mention in this form; because they were so commended unto me in my younger years, by a learned, religious and elegant man, In an Inscription written with his own hand on his works, (*works* indeed, being elaborate pieces) with the donation whereof he was pleased to befriend me. This for studies in the general. To come unto particulars. And first the study of the Scriptures; of which, note what one spake, (that *was the best learned in them, of all antient Doctors* saith the Church of *England*, as was noted above.) *Tanta est Christianorum profunditas literarum, ut* ——— *si eas solas ab ineunte pueritiâ, usque ad decrepitam senectutem, maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conarer addiscere, in eis quotidie proficerem. Non quod ea quæ necessaria sunt saluti, tanta in eis perveniatur difficultate; sed cum quisque ibi fidem tenuerit, sine quâ pie rectèq; non vivitur; tam multa, tamq; multiplicibus mysteriorum umbraculis opaca, intelligenda proficientibus restat; tantaq; non solum in verbis, quibus ista dicta sunt; verum etiam in rebus, quæ intelligendæ sunt, latet altitudo sapientiæ; ut annosissimis, acutissimis, flagrantissimâ cupiditate discendi, hoc contingat, quod eadem Scripturæ quodam loco habet; cum consummaverit homo, tunc incipit.* That is, 'So great is the depth of the *Scripture*, and Christian 'learning, that I might every day profit and gain more 'in them, though I should study them onely, and that 'from childhood even unto decrepit age; with full lei-

1. In general.

2 Cor. 2 16.

1 Tim. 4. 13, &c.

Mr. *Sam. ward*, sometime Preacher of *Ipswich.*

Homil. of the peril of Idolatry, part 2.

Aug. epist. 3.

Eccluſ. 18. 6.

'ſure, earneſt intention, and a better underſtanding than
'I have. Not that unto thoſe things, which are neceſ-
'ſary unto ſalvation, aſſcent is ſo difficult. But thus; that
'after a man hath learned as much thence, as may ena-
'ble him to believe, (without which, we cannot live
'neither godly nor uprightly) there remains ſo many
'things, ſo darkly involved in ſo many veils and my-
'ſteries, that are further to be underſtood by him that
'would go forward: And there lies hid ſo great a heighth
'of wiſdom, not onely in the *words* wherein theſe things
'are uttered, but alſo in the things that are to be known:
'That this will befall the moſt antient, the moſt acute,
'and the moſt ſtudious Reader, which the ſame Scrip-
'ture ſaith in another place, *viz.* When a man hath end-
'ed, he muſt then begin. Where, by the way, let it not
'offend the Reader, that St. *Auſtin* calls the Book of
Eccleſiaſticus Scripture. Whereas, according to the Do-
ctrine of the Church of *England*, it is none of it, but
Apocrypha onely. For the *Canon* of Scripture was ta-
ken by him *ſtrictly* and *largely*, as the * learned note.
When ſtrictly; he acknowledgeth, that there is no certain
Authority but in the Books received in the *Hebrew* Ca-
non, whereof this is none. * *Adverſus contradicentes, non
tanta firmitate proferuntur, quæ ſcripta non ſunt in Canone
Judæorum. In tribus vero illis libris (Proverbiis, Ec-
cleſiaſte, & Cantico Canticorum) quos Salomonis eſſe
conſtat, &c.* 'Againſt Opponents, ſaith he, we cannot
'with ſo good ſecurity produce any thing, that is not
'written in the *Hebrew Canon*. But in thoſe *three* Books,
'which it is certain are *Solomon's*, that is, *Proverbs*, *Ec-
'cleſiaſtes*, and the *Song of Solomon*, &c. But this occa-
ſionally. And ſo much for the ſtudy of the Scriptures.

Auſtin's Caution.

Auſtin explained.

* *Artic* 6. of the ſufficiency of the Scriptures.

* *Whitak. Controv.* 1. *Q.* 1. *cap.* 4. & *cap.* 14.

* *D. Civit. lib.* 17. *cap.* 20.

2. Other good Authors.

Next. Touching the peruſing of other good Authors alſo, that the neglect thereof, doth object unto error and ſeducement. I remember, that when Mr. *William Sedgwick* had fallen into that *delirium* touching the *end of the world*, to be terminated by ſuch a day: After the time was ſome while paſſed, certain Miniſters (Independent) meeting

Will. Sedgwick.

meeting on other occaſion, and among them my ſelf's diſcourſe falling in concerning him. Mr. *Bridge* (as I remember) conceiving him to be *obſeſſed* (a degree below poſſeſſion) by a *ſpirit*, (communicated unto him by the * woman that poſſeſſed him with that deluſion) and his underſtanding thereby bowed down, as it were, (a thing to be well obſerved:) Mr. *Sydr. Symſon* (as rendring the cauſe of his lying open unto ſuch temptations) ſaid: 'That Mr. *Sedgwick* had lived upon his *fancy* this *ſeven* 'years, and had *neglected the reading of the Scripture* 'and other good books. Touching other Books; a friend of his lying in his Study at *Ely*, and obſerving he made no uſe of his Library; asked in mirth, to give him his Books, ſaying; 'I ſee you make no uſe of them. He replyed; 'They were good *Introductions*; intimating, that he was now beyond them. And for the *Scripture*, my ſelf having ſome diſcourſe with him about his former miſtakes, (which then he *Atheiſtically* juſtified, ſaying; '*There was no other end of the world but this*; 'juſt with *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*; And that God had 'burnt up all corruption in him &c.) And ſpeech falling in about the *Scripture*, he ſaid: He could have a glorious uſe of them, and *he could be without them. Reading* ſurely, as it doth enlarge our *abilities*. (*An tu exiſtimas, aut ſuppetere nobis poſſe, quod quotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, niſi animos noſtros doctrinâ excolamus.* 'Canſt thou think (ſaith *Tully*) that we can 'have material ſupply, to ſpeak daily in ſuch variety of 'matters, if we did not encreaſe our parts by ſtudy.) So alſo it ſharpneth our *reaſoning*, to ſee both into words and things, even in Religion it ſelf. *Ut de ſermone rectiùs judicemus, & ut dogmata religionis enarrare & explicare, quoties hoc poſcit publicus uſus, poſſimus; variè ſubigendum eſt ingenium, & omnibus diſciplinis excolendum.* 'That we may the better judge of the meaning 'of *words*, and be able alſo to open and explain the do-'ctrine of Religion, ſo often as the Publick calls for

* A woman near *Ely* that put this conceit into his head.

Note.

2 Tim. 2. 17, 18.

Cic. pro. Archia. Poet.

Melanchton præfat. in Heſſodum.

'it. The mind is to be *tilled* ſeveral ways, and furniſhed
Pſal. 119. 98, 99, 100. 'with all kind of learning, ſaith *Melanchton*. Laſtly, It fixeth our *judgment*. Hence *David* did not count it vanity to boaſt: 'Thou through thy commandements haſt 'made me *wiſer* than mine enemies, for they are ever 'with me. I have more *underſtanding* than *all* my teach-'ers, for thy teſtimonies are my meditation. I *underſtand* 'more than the antients, becauſe I keep thy precepts. Namely, I keep firſt, to the reading & conſidering of them. Hence the Apoſtle charges *Timothy*, not to live upon his
1 Tim. 4. own fancy; 'but to give attendance to *reading*, to exhor-'tation and doctrine, and to meditate on what he read. Yea, and himſelf alſo, as appears, had read all ſorts of Authors, for he quotes the *Greek Poets*. So even when old, and, as himſelf ſaith, near his end, yet he gives
2 Tim. 4. order unto *Timothy* to bring him his *Books* and *Parchments*, in which perhaps his gatherings in his readings were. I conclude this point with that of the Father,
Aug. prolog. in lib. de doct. Chriſt. finding ſuch temptations in ſome of his time: *Quod per hominem diſcendum eſt, ſine ſuperbia diſcat, & per quem docetur alius, ſine ſuperbia & ſine invidia tradat quod accepit. Neque tentemus eum cui credimus, ne talibus inimici verſutiis & perverſitate decepti, ad ipſum quoq; evangelium audiendum atq; diſcendum nolimus ire in eccleſias—— & expectemus rapi—— caveamus tales tentationes ſuperbiſſimas & periculoſiſſimas, magiſq; cogitemus & ipſum Apoſtolum* Paulum, *licet divina & cœleſti voce proſtratum & inſtructum, ad hominem tamen miſſum—— Quomodo enim verum eſſet, Templum Dei ſanctum eſt, quod vos eſtis, ſi Deus de humano Templo reſponſa non redderet?* 'That which may be learned from 'man (ſaith he) let the Chriſtian receive without pride; 'and let him, by whom another is taught, deliver with-'out pride, and without envy, what he hath received. 'Neither let us tempt him in whom we believe; leſt 'being deluded with ſuch fine and nice conceits of the 'enemy, we at length come to refuſe to go to Church, 'to hear the very *Goſpel* it ſelf, but *wait* till we are *in-*

'ſpired.

'*ſpired.* Let us take heed of ſuch *proud* and perilous 'temptations; and rather conſider that even the Apoſtle '*Paul* himſelf, although dejected and inſtructed by 'Chriſts own voice from heaven; was yet for all that 'ſent unto man (namely, *Ananias*, for further informati-'on.) For how elſe ſhould it be verified which is pro-'miſed, (*viz.*) That the Temple of God is holy, which 'Temple are ye; if ſo be that God did not give forth '*Oracles* out of this humane Sanctuary. Thus far he. And that for the ſecond point, neglect of other Authors beſides the Scripture.

Note. *Quakers* in *Auſtins* time.

1 Cor. 3. 16.

Come we to the third defect in reading, *viz.* Not ſtudying what might be ſaid on *both* ſides, And the *controverſies* of the times neglected. I remember that Dr. *Sibs* (*a man* whoſe works do praiſe him in the gate*) the then Maſter of our Colledge, on occaſion of certain opinions ſtarted by ſome at that time amongſt us; commended unto me the reading of *Auſtins ſeventh Tome*. *God* preſerved me from that infection (although I lived for ſome time in a *Holland*-like aire (from whence that wind blew) and near that *water* which was conceived to exhale ſome ſuch vapours) without that Antidote. But had I read then *all* that *Tome*; it had, with his bleſſing, ſecured me againſt *Independency*; the one *half* of whoſe evil conſiſts in *Donatiſm* and *Separation*. Againſt which St. *Auſtin* in one half of that work ſtrenuouſly diſputes. Of one *Tract* whereof *Bucer* ſaith thus: *Is locus hac maximè tempeſtate nobis ſingulari diligentiâ legendus & perpendendus eſt.* That is: 'That Treatiſe (*viz.* St. *Auſtins* 'third Book againſt *Parmenian*) is in theſe times eſpe-'cially to be read and pondered on, with ſpecial indu-'ſtry. Thus of the third cauſe, neglect of Reading.

3. Controverſies of the times neglected.

* Prov. 31. Dr. *Sibbs* St. *Auſtin*'s ſeventh Tome uſeful in theſe times.

Particularly *Contr. Epiſt. Parmen. lib.* 3.

Bucer in Matth. 18. 7.

Now as the Beaſt, whoſe neck is cloath'd with *thunder*, as *Job* ſpeaks, cannot ſtand ſtill when he ſmells the Battel, and if he want his *eyes* muſt needs do miſchief, ſo that *zeal* which I had of God, wanting the due conduct of *knowledge*; did indeed precipitate as well as provoke me unto theſe actings. What the dire effects of theſe

4. Cauſe, Zeal unguided.

Job 39. 22, 28.

theſe two in conjunction would prove, our Saviour before hand ſhews us, when he ſaith: that thoſe who are acted by them, even then, when they perſecute the
Joh. 16. 2. *Saints* to death, *ſhall think they do God ſervice.* The Apoſtle himſelf was an example of it; who, before converſion,
Act. 26. 11. *was exceedingly mad againſt the Saints*, and perſecuted them even unto ſtrange cities. And after him his Scholar *Auſtin* (* for St. *Paul's* writings at firſt he chiefly ſtudied) acknowledgeth his unguided zeal, and the pernicious effects of it. *Omnia illa figmenta & quæſivi curioſè, & attente audivi, & temerè credidi, & inſtanter quibus potui, perſuaſi, & adverſus alios pertinaciter animoſeque defendi.* 'All thoſe fancies (ſaith he) I ſought 'after curiouſly, and heard them diligently, and believ-'ed them raſhly, and perſwaded them to whom I could 'earneſtly, againſt others I defended them with pertinacy 'and paſſion. Thus he of himſelf, whilſt an heretical and ſchiſmatical *Manichee.*

* St. *Auſtin* ſtudied *Paul* eſpecially.
* *Itaque avidiſſimè arripui venerabilem ſtylum Spiritus tui & præ cæteris Apoſt.* Paulum. *Aug. confeſſ. lib. 7. cap. 21.*

S. *Aug. contr. Epiſt. quam vocant Fundamenti, cap. 3.*

5. *Cauſe*, Idolizing ſome perſons.

5. St. *Paul*, a man as full of *charity* as of faith, yet did with great prudence labour to take off from the Churches, the too great opinion they had conceived of ſome perſons. Nay, he ſpares not his friend *Apollos*, nor himſelf neither. 'What is *Paul* (ſaith he) or what is *Apollos*,
1 Cor. 3. 5. 'but the Miniſters by whom ye believed? That they
chap. 4. 6. 'might learn in them not to think of others above that 'which is written. Their idolizing of ſome, had been the occaſion of the Apoſtaſie of many. His *Pupil Auſtin* puts this Lecture into practice; who in his writings againſt the ſeparation of his time, the *Donatiſts* and others, endeavours to undeceive the people, and ſets down the *faults* as well as the errors of thoſe Schiſmaticks. One place for all, *Unde tantæ turbæ convivarum, ebrioſorum & innuptarum, ſed non incorruptarum: innumerabilia ſtupra fœminarum, unde tanta turba raptorum, avarorum, fæneratorum? Unde tam multi per ſuas quiq; regiones notiſſimi, tantundem volentes, ſed non valentes Optati?*

Aug. contr. ep. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 3.

'If

'If you be wheat and not chaff (ſaith he) whence is it 'that there is in *Optatus* (the *Donatiſt* or *Separatiſt*) his 'faction, ſuch a crowd of *luxurious* perſons, drunkards, '*unmarried*, but not *unmarr'd* women; innumerable 'rapes and raviſhments? whence this throng, among 'you of *oppreſſors*, of *covetous*, of *uſurers*? whence is it 'that there are ſo many, who are well known in their ſe-'veral Countries, to be as curſt Cows, though they have 'ſhorter horns. But had our *Saviour* been either under- Matth. 7. 15. 16.
ſtood or believed, the ravening Wolves had never crept into the flock in their Sheeps cloathing, but they would, if obſerved, have been diſcerned by their fruits. Rending interpreted.
and tearing, as was ſaid before, being a fruit of *thorns* and *thiſtles*, not of the *vine* or *fig-tree*. St. *Paul* attributes it to the *folly* and *negligence*, as well as the cha- Rom. 16. 17.
rity of the *Romans*; that they did not obſerve, that thoſe 'who cauſed diviſions amongſt them, contrary to the 'doctrine which they had received, did but with flatter-'ing words and *ſweet preaching* (according to Mr. *Tin-'dals* verſion) deceive the ſimple, and ſerve their own '*bellies*. But yet I muſt add that diſtinction here, which our *Saviour* uſes in another caſe; *I ſpeak not of them all.* But Joh. 6. 70.
as the Sea, the more it flows on one ſide the channel, the lower it ebbs on the other; ſo the immoderate preferring of ſome, doth neceſſarily carry with it the under-valuing of, and prejudice againſt others, better oft-times With the contempt of others.
than the former. This appeared in the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*; who by how much the more they doted on their *new* teachers; by ſo much deeplier were they prejudiced againſt their *old* Miniſter and Apoſtle. Inſomuch that he could neither ſpeak nor write, but he was taken either for a fool, or a mad-man, or an enemy. 2 Cor. 10. 10.
His ſpeech is *contemptible*, ſay they. And, 'If I be *beſides my* chap. 5. 13.
'*ſelf*, ſaith he, it is for your conſolation, (implying, that they thought ſo of him, And, 'Am I become your enemy be- Gal. 4. 16.
'cauſe I tell you the truth? Now the fruit of this evill root, in my ſelf, was; that I did not greatly mind what thoſe of the contrary part, either ſaid or wrote. Whom if I had

had piously and considerately heard and read, it had in all likelyhood, either prevented, or recovered, my falling, sooner. But not only *Dionysius* in the Historian, hath taught us to become, *boni nummularii, omnia Probantes, & quod bonum fuerit retinentes.* Good mony-changers, 'proving all, and keeping that which is good. But *Austin* himself also hath informed us, that a real adversary to the truth, may be read, so it be warily, and with wisdom. Hence it is, that he commends the Rules of *Tichonius* the *Donatist* unto the reading of all men, as we saw already: *Quod ideo dicendum putavi, ut liber ipse legatur à studiosis— cautè sanè legendus est, non solum propter quædam, in quibus ut homo erravit; sed maximè propter illa quæ sicut Donatista hæreticus posuit.* 'Which 'I therefore speak, saith he, that the book it self (of *Tychonius*) may be read by the studious, so it be warily; not only 'in regard of those things wherein he erred as a man; 'but especially in regard of those which he wrote as a 'Donatist. But read he might be. It was the precipitancy of the old *Pharisees*, condemned by one of themselves, when he came to some farther moderation: 'That they condemned and judged a man, before they 'heard what he could say for himself. This is that, which a *Minister* of the Gospel, above all men should observe; so to walk in the very eye of *Christ*, as to *do nothing by partiality.* This Canon therefore was transgressed.

Euseb. hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Aug. de doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 30. ad fin.

Joh. 7. 51.

1 Tim. 5. 21.

6. Cause, Want of due reverence to the Church and State.

1. In general;

6. As the wisdom of *Law-givers* is seen, not only in the matter, but the *order* also of their Laws; so the Lord, with great prudence, placed that Precept *first* in the second Table of his Laws, from whence directly or occasionally the observation of the rest depend. *Honor thy father and thy mother.* The true exposition of which, is contained in the first rudiments to be instilled into children, but through that neglect, we want the efficacy of it being men, yea, and *Teachers* also; *viz.* 'A neglect, duly and heartily, to honor and obey the 'King and his Ministers. To submit our selves to all 'our governors, teachers, *spiritual pastors*, &c. That is,

Catechism in the Book of Common-Prayer.

a

a default in my reverence to the Church and Commonwealth, with the Governors of both; was another, and an eminent cauſe of my prevaricating. For the tranſgreſſion of which commandment, as I deprived my ſelf of the promiſe annexed, ſo incurred I the threatning implyed; ſo that had it not been for the rich mercy of *God*, and *clemency* of others, my *days might not have been ſo long in the land of the living*, as they have; Although I committed nothing by Law criminal. To the Iſa. 8. 20.
'*Law* and to the Teſtimony, ſaith the Prophet. Which is not to be reſtrained to the Scriptures onely, (though ſo meant there) but unto all expreſſions of the wiſdom, goodneſs, and government of Almighty God toward men, declared in the *Laws*, which are nothing elſe but (as I may ſo ſpeak) *copies* of thoſe Attributes, and of Gods *eternal* Law, the firſt Original. Hence the diſobedience unto the Legitimate Governors, Adminiſtrators, and Expounders of the Law of God, is made Rebellion againſt himſelf, and a preſumptuous ſin by the Lord in *Moſes*. And in particular, touching the Deut. 17. 2. In particular.
Church, the Laws, Governors, and body of it. That 1. Our own Church.
ſpeech of one doth not want its weight (as none of his did) 'As becometh them, that follow in all *humility* the *R. Hook. Eccleſ. Pol. l. 5. § 71.*
'ways of peace, we honor, reverence, and obey, *in the*
'*very next degree unto God*, the voice of the Church
'of God wherein we live. And they whoſe wits are too
'glorious to fall to ſo low an ebb; they that have riſen
'and ſwolſen ſo high, that the banks of *ordinary* Rivers
'are unable to keep them in; they whoſe wanton con-
'tentions, in the cauſes whereof we have ſpoken, do
'make all where they go a Sea; even they at their higheſt
'float, may be conſtrained, both to ſee and grant, that
'what their *fancy* will not yield to like, their *judgments*
'cannot with reaſon condemn. Thus he. Which is not ſpoken to put the ſpirit of *bondage* and *blind belief*, but the ſpirit of Sonſhip and Adoption into mens breaſts, in order to the Church, the ſpirit of filial and child-like, not of ſlaviſh obedience. This for the Church. Then

2. The Laws of this Nation. Rom. 13. 2.

touching the Laws of our Nation, it is to be obſerved, that there is ſo great a *ſacredneſs* upon them, that the Apoſtles both *Intermination* and *Prediction* hath ever been verified, 'that from the *crown* of the head

Iſa. 1.

'to the *ſole* of the foot, as the Prophet ſpeaks, the violation and reſiſting of them, and the legitimate Governors by them, hath proved a 'reſiſtance of the *Ordi-* 'nance of God: and they that have ſo done, have re- 'ceived unto themſelves judgment from the Lord, for

In the Act for uniformity of Common-Prayer.

neglecting of *his good and wholeſome Laws*; As the Parliament phraſeth it. Neither is this ſpoken in *treachery* to *civil* liberties, or to make men ſlaves, but ſubjects. 'The *Laws* of theſe Kingdoms —— by an admirable 'temperament, give very much to *ſubjects* liberty, and 'happineſs, and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty 'and Prerogative of any *King*, who owns his people as

Eikon Baſil. Medit. 27.

'*ſubjects*, not as *ſlaves*; Says his late Majeſty. As implying, that the reverence of the Laws, preſerves both the *People* from Rebellion, and the *Prince* from Tyranny, and *both* from ruine. Memorable to this purpoſe is the counſel of that pious and peaceable man, Dr. *Sibs*, in a book of his, which a * great wit counted the *ſecond* next the Scripture, as to the argument it treats on (he might perhaps have ſaid the *firſt*.) The Doctors words are:

* Mr. *Howard*. The *firſt*, he counted, A Treatiſe on Rom. 8. intituled, *Chriſt opened, &c.* Dr. *Sibs Souls Conſt.* Edit. 1 ſt. *viz.* 1635. pag. 364.

'The *Laws* under which we live are particular determi- 'nations of the *Law of God*; and therefore ought to be 'a *rule* unto us, ſo far as they reach. —— *Law* being 'the *joynt* reaſon and conſent of many men for publick 'good, hath an uſe for the guidance of all actions that 'fall under the ſame. Where it daſhes not againſt Gods 'Law, what is agreeable to Law is agreeable to *conſci-* 'ence. Thus he. Which paſſage, as it ſeems was not a *preſent truth*, or not a truth for the *preſent times*, and therefore ſome did *evirate*, geld, alter, and enervate into this in the following Editions (unleſs mended in the later) *viz.* 'The Laws under which we live are parti- 'cular *determinations of the Laws of God, in ſome things* 'of *the ſecond Table*. That which he laid down generally,

they

they put a double reſtriction upon. Firſt, to the *ſecond* Table. Again, to ſome things onely therein. Then they add an inſtance, which though it illuſtrates the Text, yet is it not in the firſt Edition, *viz.* 'For example (ſays the 'following Editions) The Law of God ſays, Exact no 'more than what is thy due; but what in particular is thy 'due, and what another mans, the Laws of men deter-'mine. Thus far the Addition. Now this wound being 'received by the Doctor in the houſe of his *friends*, (for ſo I underſtand) and when ſcarce cold in his grave; and his books being in the hands of all men; what may we think Authors more antient, in the hands of enemies, and re-publiſhed, have met withal. Wherein we are the more to obſerve the providence of God, who hath made the *Jews* and *Turks*, *Capſarios noſtros*, as St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks; the faithful keepers of our Libraries.

A wound received by Dr. *Sibs* in the houſe of his friend. Zech. 13. 6.

Aug. Enarrat. Pſal. 40.

7. But the more immediate *ſpring* of this irregular motion, was, the reflecting on perſons on both ſides, and ſome appendant and concomitant things, as was noted above; *rather* then unpartial weighing the *cauſes* themſelves, as denuded of all Patrons, Concomitants, and Appendixes. *viz.* What *ground of the war?* what plea for *Independency?* The fallacy was, by arguing *à non cauſa ad cauſam*, and not applying ſolid Logick to ſound Divinity. St. *Auſtins* offer to his adverſary is good advice, *Scripturarum authoritatibus, non quorumvis propriis, ſed utriſq; communibus teſtibus, res cum re, cauſa cum cauſa, ratio cum ratione concertet.* 'Let matter, 'ſaith he, contend with matter, *cauſe* with *cauſe*, reaſon 'with reaſon, by authority of Scripture, which may not 'be proper to *one ſide*, but common unto both.

7. Cauſe, Not weighing *Cauſes*, ſo much as Perſons and Appendixes.

Cont. Maximin. Arian. lib. 3. *cap.* 14.

I am clear, that *this* hath impoſed on many on both ſides, and in both cauſes, *viz.* that men have had the *faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in reſpect of perſons*, or at the leaſt of *conſequences*; and have eyed more the *perſons* engaged, or what might be the *iſſue* of things, than the matters themſelves. But the Apoſtle prohibits a diſproportion between the means and the end. We

One cauſe of the miſcarriage in the late differences. Jam. 2. 1.

Rom. 3. 8.

'must not do evil that good may come thereof. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* We must do what is right, though heaven and earth go together. The *Athenians*, though Heathen, yet in a certain case they rejected the counsel of *Themistocles*, though *useful* to the Common-wealth, because it was not *honest*. It was the occasion of the *first sin* in the world, *Respect of person*; for it was, *in gratiam uxoris*, for the pleasing of his *wife*, in all likelihood. But our esteem of persons, is best directed by the original rule. And there, *prima secunda*, the first commandment with promise is, that we honor *our father and mother*; but which? especially the *Father of our c untry*, and the *Mother of our Christianity*. The King and the Church. And for effects and *consequences*, our *Saviours* and the Apostles Philosophy and Logick (for * *Austin* proves them to have used both) would have directed us, to make that a *vine*, and not a *thorn*, whereof we expect grapes. If we sow to the flesh, and act on earthly grounds, we shall from it reap corruption. I conclude this with that of the wise-man, 'My son give me thy *heart*; that's 'the *end*: And let thine *eyes* observe my ways, there's 'the *means*. Let thine *eyes* look right on, to the true 'scope. And turn not to the right hand, or to the left, of 'unlawful means. If thine eye be single, thy whole body 'shall be full of light; if thine eye (and aim) be evil, thy 'whole body (of thy actions) will be full of darkness, '(and in darkness men do not walk even) said our Saviour.

Plutarch. in vita Aristid. n. 609.

Gen. 3.

Matth. 7. 16.

* *Contr. Cresc. lib. 1. cap. 14 cap. 17.*

Gal. 6. 7.

Prov. 23. 26.

chap. 4. 27.

Matth. 6. 22.

8. Cause, Negligence in Religious duties.

8. In the next place, there was no doubt, either neglect of, or some other defect in *prayer* and *religious* duties. For though the thing were not omitted, yet it seems there 'was an asking and not receiving, which could not 'have been (for he is faithful who had promised) but that 'there was an asking amiss. Now the promise cannot 'fail, because God cannot lie, and the promise is, If any 'man lack *wisdom*, let him ask of God, who giveth (it) 'liberally. It hath even by the light of nature been discovered, that great *miscarriages* in *judgment* and *practise* could

Jam. 4.

Heb. 10.

1 Jo. 1.

Jam. 1.

could not happen; but as a puniſhment for ſome neglect of *God*, as well as a ſin againſt him. When *Alexander* the Great had in a drunken fit ſlain *Clytus* (a man both of valor, and merit towards the King) after that he had ſpent all night in lamenting and repenting; *Scrutatumque num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus eſſet, ſubiit anniverſarium ſacrificium. Libero patri non eſſe redditum ſt to tempore, itaque inter vinum & epulas cæde commiſſa iram Dei fuiſſe manifeſtam.* 'Upon ſearch it was found, 'that the ſacrifice to *Bacchus* was not performed in its 'ſeaſon; and therefore in his very benefits (wine, for ſo 'they reckoned) the *table* was made a ſnare, and in 'drinking and feaſting, ſlaughter being committed, the 'anger of god was evident. Thus thoſe Heathens. Surely lead us *not into temptation*, as it is a neceſſary, ſo it ſhould be a daily prayer, and that with earneſtneſs. *Curtius lib. 8. paulo ab initio.* Matth. 6.

9. Add to this, ſome failing or other, either in *ſpirit* and ſincerity, or in *practice* and walking. For 'Good and 'upright is the Lord, therefore he will teach ſinners in 'the way; but ſo, that we be tractable; for the *meek* he 'will guide in judgment, and the *meek* will he teach his 'way; that is, the *plain-hearted*, and thoſe that walk with 'a right foot, and make ſtreight ſteps unto their feet. 'And all the paths of the *Lord* are mercy and truth, unto 'them that keep his *Covenant*, and his teſtimonies to do 'them. And what man is he that *feareth the Lord*, him 'ſhall he teach the way that he ſhall chooſe. As on the contrary, 'when we know God, and glorifie him not as 'God, he often delivers us to an erring and *unjudicious* 'ſpirit. And the not receiving the truth in the love of 'it, introduceth frequently ſtrong deluſions. The cloſe ſhall be St. *Auſtins*, *Diriget mites, nec perturbabit in judicio eos, qui ſequuntur voluntatem ejus, nec ei reſiſtendo, præponunt ſuam.* That is, 'He ſhall direct the *meek*, nor 'ſhall he diſturb them in their *judgment*, which follow 'his will, and do not by reſiſting prefer their own. 9. Cauſe, Fail in practiſe. Pſal. 25. 8, 9, 10. Heb. 12. Pſal. 25. Rom. 1. 28. 2 Theſſ. 2. *In* Pſal. 24. *dirige*.

The laſt of thoſe general cauſes, which I ſhall name, of my back-ſliding, was, *Being too buſie without my ſphere*, 10. Cauſe πολυπραγμοσυνη.

1 Thes. 4. 11. *ſphere*, and in the things did not belong unto me. A practice conſequent unto the former negligence, as is implied by the Apoſtle, whilſt he ſaith; 'Do your own 'buſineſs, and work with your hands the thing that is Pſal. 131. 1. 'good. It was one thing that preſerved *David* from ſedition, 'that he exerciſed not himſelf in things too high 'for him, and above his place, but refrained his ſoul as 2 King. 11. 'a weaned child. Not but that *Jehoiada* the High-prieſt may, according to his office, and power given him, deal in the greateſt affairs of a kingdom. Yea, and not onely *Zadoc* and *Abiather* the chief; but even alſo *Ahimaaz* and *Jonathan* the *inferior Prieſts*, when regularly, may put their hand to ſave the *Throne* as well as the *Altar*. But the caſe with me was different. I need not explain how. That Propheſie, 'Take unto thee the inſtruments of a Zech. 11. 15. '*fooliſh ſhepherd*, &c. was applied by one, late in power, unto the *Miniſters* dealing in affairs of State, when yet himſelf and party played their firſt and beſt game by their hands in ſo medling. He ſaith, 'Such means will 'not be effectual, for the ſetting up the Kingdom of 'Chriſt, and neglect, or not truſt to the word of God, 'the ſword of the Spirit, which alone is powerful and 'able for the ſetting up that Kingdom: and when truſted 'to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will 'alſo do it. Thus he. Oh that ſo much had been ſaid by him at the beginning of the *Engliſh*, as it was at the beginning of the *Scotiſh* War. But then it would have 2 Pet. 1. 12. ſpoil'd the ſport, and it ſeems, there is a *preſent truth*, as ſome apply thoſe words of *Peter*, not capable of any other moments of time, paſt or to come. But to return. *Johannes Funccius* (that notable and good Chronologer) a *Divine*, alſo Chaplain and Chancellor unto the Duke of *Boruſſia*, having as it ſeems, counſell'd ſome act that was diſguſted vehemently by the *State*; they reſted not, till they had his head that contriv'd it: who, as he went to execution, gave forth this Diſtich:

Lieutenant General *Cromwels* Letter to the Speaker out of *Scotland* *Sept.* 4. 1650.

Johan. Funccius.

Bucholcer. Chronol. ad Ann. 1566.

Diſce

Diſce meo exemplo, mandato munere fungi,
Et fuge, ceu peſtem τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην.

Which I have ſometime thus rendred,

Learn thou, by mine example, to apply
Thy ſelf to thine own ſtudies, and do fly,
As from the plague, that folly, mine of late,
Divines too medling in affairs of State.

Somewhat like was that of *Juſtus Jonas*, the year following, which he gave forth as he went to the ſame calamity. *Juſtus Jonas idem ad Ann.* 1567.

Quid juvat innumeros ſcire & evolvere caſus,
Si facienda fugis, ſi fugienda facis.

What doth it boot all caſes for to know,
If *duty* thou omit, and ſin thou do.

But he was of another Trade, to wit, a *Lawyer*.

I conclude this with the Apoſtles warning, that we 'ſtudy to be quiet, and to do our *own* buſineſs, leſt we 'ſuffer as evil doers, and buſie-bodies in *other* mens 'affairs. The *Cauſes general* are ended. 1 Theſſ. 4. 1 Pet. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Particular Cauſes, with their Confutation. *And firſt, of the* War.

SECT. I.

Cauſe General and Privative, viz. *Reſiſting of the Spirit of God.*

AS touching particular ones, namely, thoſe which induced me unto the civil Controverſie, and thoſe which lead me to the Eccleſiaſtical. Concerning the firſt, I cloſed with the one party in the civil conteſt for theſe cauſes, whereof the one is *General* and Privative, the other Poſitive and Particular. The former was the *grieving or reſiſting the Spirit of God*, from whom I received no ſmall concuſſion about this matter, eſpecially at the coming forth of * Dr. *Fearn*'s firſt book, in oppoſition to the *Lords* and *Commons*, in their taking up Arms againſt the *King*. The authority of *Scripture* there urged (unto which God had given me ever to bear an awful reverence) the Spirit ſetting it on, exerciſed me more than all his arguments. But 1 being in heart enclined unto the good things the other ſide propoſed to be contended for; and 2 judging his reaſons might all be anſwered; and 3 apprehending it much concerned the cauſe of God, and of his ſervants; and 4 my own reputation alſo being pre-engaged; 5 and laſtly, my place ſeeming to call for it, (I holding then the publick *Lecture* in *Cambridge*) I took all the former reluctancy of ſpirit to be onely a temptation. And

1. In the Civil Controverſie.

* The reſolving of conſcience, &c. *Edit. Cambr.* 1642.

and accordingly resolved to reply, which I did the next Lords day, after the publishing of that Book, wherein I answered all that seemed material in that Book, and so answered it, That some who were of the other judgment were pleased to say, that so bad a cause could not be better pleaded. Upon this, I was sollicited to the publishing of my Answer. But coming to *London*, and finding another had done it before, but especially my spirit *working* too and fro, betwixt resolution and fear, I did suppress it. But that of *Zachary* hath been fulfilled in me since: *In that day the Prophets shall be ashamed, every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied.* And blessed be God, who hath verified another also towards me, *viz. Thou shalt hear a voice behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk in it, when thou turnest to the right-hand, and when thou turnest to the left.* And blessed be his Name, that although I have been a *rebellious child* (as it is in the first verse of that chapter) *that would not take counsel of him, nor cover with the covering of his spirit*: yet *he hath not cast me away from his presence, nor taken his holy Spirit from me. Deliver me from bloods, O Lord, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness. The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* And, *Uphold me, O Lord, with thy spirit, then will I teach sinners thy ways, and transgressors shall be converted unto thee.* Lastly, 'Do good in thy good pleasure 'unto *Sion*, build thou the walls of *Jerusalem*, then shall 'they offer young bullocks upon thine altar. *Amen. Sed irrideant nos fortes & potentes, nos autem infirmi & inopes confiteamur tibi*; But let great and over-grown 'spirits laugh at this; let us that are infirm and poor in 'heart confess to thee. *Tota palea areæ ipsius irridet eum, & gemit triticum irrideri dominum.* 'All the chaff of 'Christs own floor laughs at him, and the good corn la-'ments its Lords derision. Thus of the general and privative cause.

On Judg. 5. 23. on which Mr. *St. M.* had preached before, of whose notions, that I know of, I made no use. Mr. *J. B.*

Zach. 13. 5.

Isa. 30. 21.

Psal. 51. 11.

A Prayer.

Aug. confess. l. 4. c. 1.

Aug. in Ps. 21. in Præfat. in Expos. 2.

SECT. II.

Particular Motives.

2. THE particular follow, and they were ſuch as theſe.

1. Propounded. 1. The excellency and neceſſity of the things held forth to be contended for, the *Laws* namely, and the *Liberties* of the Nation, and that which made them both moſt precious, *Religion* (Proteſtant) by them eſtabliſhed and ſecured. 2. Next, the credit that I gave unto the *perſons* that did propound them, both for their ability, and for their faithfulneſs. 3. A third was the awful opinion, that I conceived of the power and authority of that place, from which they ſeem'd to iſſue, to wit, the *Parliament*. 4. That the exigences being ſuch, there was a *virtual* bond, by all *Laws*, to uſe remedies that were *not uſual*. 5. and laſtly, That *examples* of the like had been in *Scripture*; among the *Jews*, in the *Primitive* Church; the former againſt *Antiochus* by the *Maccabees*, the latter of the *Chriſtians* againſt *Maximinus*. Alſo in the *Reformed* Churches, as the *French*, *Holland*, *Scottiſh*; and owned by our former *Princes*, and (then) preſent *King*; defended alſo by our own *Divines* and *Biſhops*, as *Jewel*, *Abbot*, *Bilſon*, &c.

2. Replies unto them. But all theſe, and ſuch like, as applyed to *our caſe*, being put into the ballance of the Sanctuary, in my eye, ſeem much too light. As touching the firſt,

1. Religion. my opinion and veneration of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Nation, I hope is greater now than it was, as I know them ſomewhat better. But touching Religion to be defended by Arms, eſpecially of Subjects,

A notable ſpeech of the *Dantzikers*. well ſpake the *Dantzikers*, in their material Letter to the Duke of *Croy*, (exhorting them to the like) *May* 27. 1656. 'Evidently it doth appear (ſay they) how much 'the *Roman-Catholicks* are incenſed through this war, 'and that from thence no ſmall perſecutions, yea, the 'greateſt

'greateſt danger, may befall the *Reformed Churches*, if 'God do not prevent it in his mercy. We do confi- 'dently believe, that no body can think, or impute it to 'us, as if God took pleaſure in *Apoſtates* and *Hypocrites*, 'and as if he would have Religion promoted in caſting 'off the lawful *Magiſtrate*, and in the ſlender eſteem of 'a *well grounded government* ——— Call to mind 'how at all times by Warrs the ſpirits of men grow more 'barbarous and inhumane, and how the wars for Reli- 'gion uſe commonly to extinguiſh Religion. Thus they. Now I call God to witneſs upon my ſoul, that the ſenſe of the *diſhonor* done unto the *Proteſtant Religion*, working upon my heart, hath been one main occaſion of further examining the grounds of thoſe tranſactions, and of altering my thoughts. And particularly one paſſage in the doctrine of this Proteſtant Church, expreſſed in the Homily of diſobedience, did much affect me, of which anon. This for Religion.

Vid. Mercurius Politicus, Jul. 3. 1656.

Note.

Note.

Note.

2 Cor. 1.

Homil. of diſobedience, part 4. pag. 300.

2. Then for the *Laws* and Liberties, ſeeing firſt, that both Houſes of Lords and Commons, in all their ſolemn addreſſes to the King, and that in Parliament, and as ſuch a Parliamentary body, do uſually ſtyle themſelves thus, Your Majeſties moſt *humble and loyal ſubjects*, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. In that *Remonſtrance*, which the King ſaith, was the *fountain* of all the following miſchiefs, The very firſt line is, 'Your Majeſties moſt humble and loyal ſubjects, the 'Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. Next, the Oathes of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* do declare, 'That the *Kings* Majeſty is the onely Supream Gover- 'nor of this Realm, over *all* perſons, and in *all* cauſes, 'Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, and of all other his Do- 'minions and Countries. Yea, and every Parliament-man, before he can ſit, is bound by *Law* to ſwear them.

2. Laws and Liberties.

1. Style of the H. H.

Kings Declaration *Aug.* 12. 1642.

Remonſtr. of the State of the Kingdom, *Dec.* 15. 1642.

2. Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance.

3 *Eliz. cap.* 1.

Now this is not anſwered in my judgment, by a ſaying out of a Private * Lawyer, that, *Rex habet in populo regendo ſuperiores, leges per quam factus eſt, & curiam*

Kings Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of *May* 26. 1642.

Remonſtr. of Lords and Commons, *Nov.* 2. 1642. * *Fleta. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. *de juſtitiar. is ſubſtituendis.*

ſuam videlicet Comites & Barones. And by that other, that *Rex eſt major ſingulis*, but *minor univerſis.* For the former Author hath that ſentence and words out of *Bracton*, who hath ſeveral times alſo the quite contrary, as ſhall appear. Again, It is againſt the tenor and *current* of *Law* and Lawyers, and the known practiſe of the Nation. Thirdly, It may bear an other interpretation, namely, underſtanding the *Law*, either of God, who makes Kings, or of men, made with the Kings *conſent*, whereunto he hath *voluntarily* obliged himſelf, from which at firſt he might be free. And by the ſuperiority of his Court, their legal juriſdiction conferred on them by his approbation, for deciſion of ordinary controverſies, that may fall betwixt himſelf and his Subjects, but not ſimply his ſuperiors; firſt, becauſe he calls it *His* Court; now the owner is greater than the thing owned as ſuch. Again, elſe the Earls and Barons were the ſuperior power to the King. Fourthly, This refers not at all to the Houſe of *Commons*, whereof neither *Fleta*, nor his Author *Bracton*, in this ſentence make any mention.

Prov. 8.

2. Again, ſecondly, the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the ſtyle the Parliament ſpeak in, of his Majeſties loyal and humble ſubjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, are not anſwered by ſaying, that this *of ſupream head and governor*, *over all perſons*, *in all cauſes*, 'is meant of ſingular perſons rather 'than of Courts, or of the collective Body of the whole 'Kingdom. And that it is meant in *Curia*, not in *Came-'ra*; in his Courts, not in his private Capacity; and pro-'perly onely in his high Court of Parliament, wherein 'and *wherewith* his Majeſty hath ſupream Power. For firſt, The *Oathes* ſpeak comprehenſively, both of Perſons and Cauſes, over *all*, and in *all*. So again, the ſtyle of *humble and obedient ſubjects*, is ſpoken as from them, *as the two Houſes of Parliament*, for ſo they ſay, *aſſembled in Parliament*. Now if *Subjects*, *then* and *there*, ſure *Soveraigns* or *aſſociates* in Soveraignty, they cannot be, the terms in the ſame reſpect are contradictory.

Remonſtr. Nov. 2. 1642.

Object.

Anſw. 1.

2.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, If the King be acknowledged to be the *fountain of juſtice*, as the *Law and Lawyers* ſay he is, (of which anon) then both Laws and Courts flow from him, and thence are called *his Laws, his Courts*; and ſo *ordine naturæ & dignitatis*, both in nature and dignity muſt be before and above both. His ſplendor is in his Courts, but his Supremacy not onely there, but in his perſon alſo, from whence it was derived to his Courts. For there muſt be a Firſt in nature, either the King or his Courts; and if they be *His* Courts, then he made them, and therefore *in eſſe naturæ* before them. 3.

Neither doth it hence follow, as is there inferred, *Object.*
'That then the King may over-rule all his Courts, even *Ibid.*
'the Parliament it ſelf, and ſo the goodly frame of Go-
'vernment ſhould ſoon be diſſolved, and Arbitrary
'power brought in. For the King having both conſent- *Anſw.*
ed and ſworn to the Laws, and to the maintaining the juriſdiction of his Courts acting according to thoſe Laws, is not now in that reſpect *ſui juris*, and arbitrary in Government, but obliged both to God and man to act by Laws, and to preſerve his Courts unviolate. But if any Court ſhall aſſume a greater power than the King and Law hath given them, or act in oppoſition to that power from whom they had their being, whilſt he doth not openly reject all Laws and Government, much leſs when he doth rationally, together with as many or more, both of Lords and Commons (though excluded the formality of being in ſuch a place) judge, that he acts according to Law in the main of his proceedings: In ſuch caſe, and in ſuch actings, they are not ſuch a Court, nor are not authoriſed with *power* from above, but act excentrically, and as *private* perſons, unto whom the Declaration grants the King to be ſuperior. As the *Army* having received Commiſſion from the two Houſes of Parliament, afterward turned their Arms againſt them, which they could not do by their Commiſſion, as alſo a great fautor of their proceedings ſince, then ſpake in my hearing, *God* thereby perhaps repreſenting to the Houſes by the Army

Army, their own failings toward their Superior. And the Armies reasoning was on the like principles, *viz.* 'That they were *entrusted* with power for the Kingdoms 'preservation; and that, the Parliament degenerating, 'they must not see the Kingdom perish.

Object. 3. *Ibid.* 'Neither may it be received, that if the Parliament 'may take account of what is done by his Majesty in 'his inferiour Courts, much more of what is done by 'him without the authority of any Court. For to speak properly, the Parliament takes account, not of the Kings actions or authority in his Courts, but of his Officers, and of their administration of that authority; and this also by the Kings consent established by Law, whereby they are enabled so to do. Or to speak yet more properly, The Parliament, that is, the King, Lords and Commons; for the Parliament is not without the King, as being the *Head* of it; but without, and in opposition unto him and the Laws, they do not take such cognizance.

2. Again, for that saying, 'That they might much more 'take account of the Kings actions, that are done with-'out the authority of any Court; meaning the great administration of *Justice*, and the raising of *Arms*: Seeing no Court is superior to its Author, the King; therefore no Court can give authority to him, but he to them; nor can they call him to account, for then they were his superiors, and had the Regal Power, and himself should be no King, as is expresly affirm'd in Mr. *St. John*'s speech against *Ship-mony*, of which afterward. Humbly represent to him they may his miscarriages, and punish his Ministers, so it may be done without sedition, and assuming the Sword, which is inseparable from the Supreme Power.

3. *Ibid. pag. ult.* Lastly, How can this be assented unto, that because when the Title is dubious, he is to be accepted for King whom the two Houses declare to be so, by the Statute of 11 *H.* 7. that therefore much more they may judge in the great question, what is the best service of the King

King and Kingdom: Whence alſo it will follow, that they have the power of declaring Law in all caſes: How, I ſay, can this be received, namely, to argue from a power in doubtful caſes, to a power in caſes that are clear in Law and reaſon, or ſenſe. Secondly, when there is no King actually, their power may be more, as the wife that hath no husband. Thirdly, The Declaration of Parliament doth not give the King his title or authority; but onely declares, recognizeth, and acknowledges, that he had it before. As for thoſe aſſertions in that Declaration, *viz.* That the Soveraign Power reſides in the King and *both* Houſes of Parliament. That the two Houſes are judges, ſuperior to *all* others. That the Kings negative voice doth not imply a liberty to deny, &c. becauſe no *Law* is produced, and that they oppoſe ſuch as are known, as alſo the practiſe of Parliament in this Nation: conſcience is to ſeek for a foundation of aſſent unto them. *Ibid.*

It is delivered as Law; that 'the King is the * *Father*, 'the *Husband* of the Common-wealth; he is the *Head*, 'they are the body. * That the *Laws* are the Kings Laws, 'he is the *fountain*, from whence in their ſeveral chan-'nels they are derived to the ſubject. * That he is the 'ſoul of the *Law*, in whoſe power it is *ALONE* to exe-'cute Law, and yet not be *conſtrained* thereunto. That 'the Sacred *PERSON* of the King is *INVIOLABLE*, 'and ſubject to no force or compulſion of any other— 'and free from any *coercive* or *vindicative* power. '——That this freedom is *unſeparable* (from the 'Perſon of the King) becauſe *no force can be uſed, but by* 'Superiors or Equals; and he that hath Superiors or Equals 'is no *KING*.

* Mr. *Pym's* ſpeech at the attainder of the Earl of *Straff'rd, p.* 10.
* Mr. *St. Johns* ſpeech at the ſame Attaind. *p. m.* 7.
* The caſe of Ship-mony, a ſpeech in Parliament, *Nov.* 3. 1640. *pag.* 12, 13. Note.

Again, firſt, 'That *allegiance* of the ſubject is due to 'the King by the Law of Nature. Secondly, That the 'Law of Nature was before any Judicial or Municipal 'Law, as being written from the beginning in mans 'heart. Thirdly, That the Law of Nature is immutable. 'Fourthly, That this immutable Law of Nature, is a part of 'the Law of *England*. That *Rex in regno parem habere non debet*,

The Judges in *Calv.* caſe recited by D. *Auſtin* Allegiance not impeached. *cap.* 1. *Bracton.*

debet, cum par in parem non habeat poteſtatem, multo fortius non habeat ſuperiorem. 'The King in his King-'dom ought to have no equal, becauſe one equal cannot 'have *power over* another, much leſs ſhould he have any 'ſuperior. And this is not to be taken with that expo-'ſition as above, *viz.* That he is *major ſingulis, minor univerſis, Greater then any one, but leſs then all.* For both the *Statute* is expreſs: '*That this Realm of England* 'hath been accepted for an Empire, governed by one ſu-'pream Head; unto whom a body politick compact of all 'ſorts and degrees of People, of the Spirituality and Tem-'porality, are bound, next unto God, in a natural obedi-'ence. As alſo it is acknowledged in full *Parliament: First*, in general, by the Houſe of *Lords: As touching his Majeſties Royal Prerogative*, intrinſecal *to his Soveraignty, and betruſted him with all from God:* '*Ad com-'munem totius populi ſalutem & non ad deſtructionem*, 'That his Majeſty would reſolve not to uſe or divert the 'ſame, to the prejudice of any of his loyal people, in 'the property of their goods, or liberty of their perſons: 'is prayed by the Lords. And in particular by the *Commons*, 'Moſt dread Soveraign— We your *dutiful* 'Commons now aſſembled in Parliament —— we think 'it is a meet and moſt neceſſary duty, being called by 'your Majeſty to *conſult and adviſe* of the great and 'urgent affairs of this *Church* and *Common-wealth*, find-'ing them at this time in *apparent danger of ruine and de-'ſtruction*, faithfully and dutifully to inform your Ma-'jeſty thereof, and with bleeding hearts, and *bended* 'knees, to *crave* your ſpeedy redreſs therein, as to *your* 'wiſdom (*unto which, we moſt humbly* SUBMIT *our* 'ſelves and our deſires) ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. So then, firſt, the Kings *prerogative* is *intrinſecal* unto his Soveraignty, and betruſted to him by *God*, ſay the Houſe of Lords. And they moſt humbly *ſubmit* themſelves and their deſires to the *wiſdom* of the King, ſay the Houſe of Commons; even then when both *Church* and *Common-wealth* were in *apparent danger of ruine and de-ſtruction.*

Object. Remonſtr. *Nov.* 2. 1642. Serg. *Bradſhaw* at the ſentencing his late Majeſty.

Anſw. 24 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 12. 4. Declarat. of Parliament. Propoſition in Parliament, *Apr.* 25. 4 *Car. propoſ.* 5. *Ruſhworth. Collect. p.* 553.

Commons Remonſtrance againſt the Duke. 4 *Car. Anno* 1628. *Ruſh. Collect. pag.* 631.

Note.

1.

2.

ſtruction. And (to return again unto the judgment of the Sages of the Law) the former *Author* ſaith, That the 'King is the moſt excellent * part of the 'Common-wealth, next unto God. Again, *Dominus Rex habet ordinariam juriſdictionem, dignitatem & poteſtatem ſuper omnes qui in regno ſuo ſunt* —— 'Our Lord the King, ſaith the ſame '* *Bracton*, hath ordinary juriſdiction, 'dignity and power, over *all* which are 'in his Kingdom. —— And, *ea quæ juriſdictionis ſunt & pacis ad nullum pertinent niſi ad Coronam & dignitatem regiam, nec à Coronâ ſeparari poſſunt.* 'And that there-'fore thoſe things which are annexed to juſtice and peace, 'belong to *none* but the *Crown* and dignity Royal; *neither* 'can they be ſeparated from the Crown.

* *Bract. l.* 1. *c.* 8. *Majeſtas Intemerata. pag.* 38. *Bract. l.* 2. *de Acquir. rer. domin. c.* 24. *Stamf. r.* 7. 11. *Majeſtas Intemerata. p.* 32.

* *Bracton* cited by *Stamford*, *lib.* 2. *cap* 2. Reaſons of the Univerſity of *Oxford* againſt the Covenant, *ſect.* 7. *pag.* 27.

We have heard the teſtimony of *Lawyers*, yea, and of the *Law* it ſelf; the dialect alſo and ſpeech of *Parliament*, and the judgment of thoſe who have, not by the way, but, *ex profeſſo*, handled this argument; with the full witneſs of one of which number, and that an eminent one, I ſhall conclude this particular, who ſpeaking of the *German* Wars, and of their *Laws* and ours, ſaith, 'Their 'States be free, and may reſiſt any wrong by the *Laws* 'of the *Empire*. —The *German* Emperor is *elected*, 'and his power abated by the liberties and prerogatives 'of his Princes —— The *Queen of England inheri-'teth*, and hath *ONE* and the ſame right over *ALL* her 'ſubjects, be they *NOBLES* or others.

Dr. *Bilſon* of *Subj. & Rebel. Part.* 3. *ed. Lond.* 1586. *p.* 277.

Now all the fore-mentioned allegations, concerning the *Perſon*, *Power*, and *Prerogative* of the King, and the *ſubjection* of all perſons, and our allegiance due by nature to him, being uttered as *Law*, and in *Parliament*, and cited by thoſe, that in the late conteſt appeared *againſt* him, are *authentick*. And the the things being ſo as they came farther into my knowledge and *conſideration*, the ſame ſenſe of the *Laws*, and my *allegiance*, as

that before of *Religion*, did *concuſs* and ſhake me from the one, and ſetle me on the other ſide. And this to the firſt Motive.

2. The Integrity of the perſons, and their ability.

To the ſecond, the *integrity* and *ability* of many of the perſons inviting to this conteſt, might be very great; yet all of them were not for it, as ſhall be ſeen anon. Beſides, it is the doctrine of our *Church*, that a *Council* may, and *have erred*, *even in things pertaining to God*. And in the firſt and great *Council* of the Primitive Church, in a very material point, they all erred but *one*, and ſuffered themſelves by him to be corrected.

Anſw. *Artic.* 21. *Paphnut.* *Socrates H. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

3. Authority of the two Houſes.

To the third, the *Authority* of the two Houſes, I did not then ſo throughly conſider, though I had ſome doubts (as was noted above) that they were the *Child*, the King the Parent; that they were the *Spouſe*, the King the Huſband; that they were the *Body*, the King the Head, as we heard above out of Mr. *Pym*. Now theſe relations doubtleſs could not regularly act *without*, much leſs in *oppoſition* to the chief *relatum*, unleſs in caſes of *infancy*, *alienation* of mind, *voluntary abſence*, *abdication* of the Government, and ſuch like, of which more anon. Beſides, we heard even now, themſelves, in Parliament, ſtyle themſelves, His Majeſties moſt humble and loyal *ſubjects*, *the Lords and Commons* in Parliament; in that Declaration, wherein they did not onely pare the nails, but even alſo pierce the *quick*.

Anſw. 1.

1. Their Relation.

2. Their Style.

3. Their Title and Power, whereon founded, and in what conſiſting.

Moreover, what *power and authority* they have, it muſt be by *Law*. Power publick and authoritative, I ſuppoſe, conſiſts eſpecially in three points; firſt, in *making* Laws; ſecondly, in *declaring* Law; laſtly, in *executing* Law. Touching the firſt, Although the *King*, being the *fountain* of Law, it muſt primarily flow from him, though into his *Courts*; yet it is condeſcended unto, and a ſhare is granted them, in *making Laws*, and protecting Liberties; what that is, his late Majeſty (you will ſay) hath fully opened: 'In this Kingdom (ſaith he) the 'Laws are *jointly* made by a *King*, by a Houſe of *Peers*, 'and by a Houſe of *Commons*, choſen by the People, 'all

Kings anſwer to the 19 propoſit. 1642. pag. 12.

'all having free votes, and particular privileges. The
'*Government* according to thoſe Laws is truſted to the 1. Kings pre-
'*King*; 1 power of Treaties of war and peace; 2 of mak- rogative.
'ing Peers; 3 of chooſing Officers and Counſellors for
'State; 4 Judges for Law; 5 Commanders for Forts and
'Caſtles; 6 giving Commiſſions for raiſing men, to make
'war abroad, or to prevent or provide againſt invaſions,
'or inſurrections at home: 7 benefit of confiſcations;
'8 power of pardoning, and ſome more of the like kind,
'are placed in the King. Next for the Houſe of Com- 2. Houſe of
'mons, he ſaith: Again, That the Prince may not make Commons,
'uſe of this high and perpetual power to the hurt of thoſe,
'for whoſe good he hath it, and make uſe of the name of
'*publick neceſſity*, for the gain of his private favourites
'and followers, to the detriment of his people. The Houſe
'of *Commons* (an excellent conſerver of *liberty*, but ne-
'ver intended *for any ſhare in government*, or the chooſ- for they do
'ing of them that ſhould govern) is *ſolely* intruſted with not adminiſter
'the firſt Propoſitions, concerning the *levies* of *monies* an *Oath*.
'(which is the ſinews as well of peace as of war) and the
'impeachment of thoſe, who for their own ends,
'(though countenanced by any ſurreptitiouſly gotten
'command of the King, have violated that Law, which
'he is bound when he knows it to protect, and to the
'protection of which they were bound to adviſe him;
'at leaſt not to ſerve him in the contrary. This for the
Commons. Next for the Houſe of Lords, he proceedeth.

'And the *Lords*, being truſted with a *judicatory* 3. Houſe of
'power, are an excellent skreen and bank between the Lords.
'Prince and People, to aſſiſt each againſt any encroach-
'ment of the other, and by juſt judgment to preſerve
'that *Law*, which ought to be the rule of every one of
'the three. Whence he adds, Since therefore the *power*
'*legally* placed in both Houſes, is more than ſufficient
'to *prevent* and *reſtrain* the power of tyranny, &c.
Thus far the King. A ſhare then they have in their ſeve-
ral *degrees* in the Legiſlative power, though neither ſu-
preme nor co-ordinate, but ſubalternate, and by deſcent

2. Declaring Law. In his ſpeech, after his aſſent to the Petition of Right. Kings Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the 19 of *May*, 1642. *pag.* 21.

from the high unto the lower. Touching the next, the power of *declaring Law*; though the King do avow, 'That the power of declaring Law be not in either or 'both Houſes of Parliament without his conſent, and 'that the *Judges* are the interpreters of Law under him-'ſelf. Yet he ſaith, 'We deny not but that they (the 'Lords and Commons in Parliament) may have a *power* 'to *declare*, in a *particular doubtful* caſe, regularly 'brought before them, what *Law is*; but to make a ge-'neral declaration, whereby the *known* rule of the Law 'may be *croſſed* or *altered*, they have no power, nor can 'exerciſe any, without bringing the *life* and *liberty* of 'the ſubject to a lawleſs and *arbitrary* ſubjection.

3. Execution of Laws.

Laſtly, as to the execution of Law, or judging by it, This is not in any other, but either in the Houſe of *Peers* in Parliament, with the *Kings* conſent, who muſt ſign all their *capital* ſentences; or in the *Judges* and other *Officers*, by *Commiſſion* from the King, in whoſe *name* they all proceed. So then, the power of government *original* and *final*, and of execution of the Laws, is in the King, ſo far as is made known by the conſtant *practice* of the Nation. A power therefore of *reſiſtance*, *publickly*, and by *Arms*, how ſhould they have, in oppoſition to the King, who have no power of judging, or execution of the Law, but by authority from him, and his conſent formally expreſſed?

4. Their ſilence in point of particular Law.

Laſtly, There was (though ſpoken of, and they urged to produce it) never any *Law* ſhewn, nor the *Charter*, or *Cuſtom*, or *Act* named, that did either *formally* or *virtually* imply a power of *Government*, and much leſs of *Arms*, *without* and in *oppoſition* to the King, which might ſettle and ſatisfie the conſcience. For ſome preſidents in *tumultuous* times of ſome great men, will not be a fit example for a *Parliament*. And ſome *very few ſentences* of *one or two Lawyers*, whereof one contradicts himſelf, is not a ſufficient δῶς πᾶ στῶ καὶ γλῶ γλῶ κινήσω, a firm footing to ſtand upon, to ſhake, not the *earth* onely, but *heaven* alſo.

The Barons Wars.

Object.

Bracton

Bracton writing in *Henry* the third his time, when the *Barons* had raiſed a *Militia* againſt the King, ſaith indeed, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum ſcilicet, item legem per quàm factus eſt Rex, item curiam ſuam*, viz. *Comites & Barones, &c.* 'That the King hath a Superior, namely, *God*; alſo the *Law*, whereby he was made King; alſo 'his *Court*, to wit, the *Earls* and *Barons*. The like ſentence *verbatim* almoſt is cited out of * *Fleta*, that the King hath *in populo regendo ſuperiores, legem, per quam factus eſt, & curiam ſuam*, viz. *Comites & Barones, &c.* 'But the former place in *Bracton* (and ſo in *Fleta*) is not 'meant of the Court of *Parliament*, for there's no men- 'tion of the *Commons*; but it follows in the ſame place, 'debent ei frænum imponere, they ought to bridle him; 'It is likely he ſpake this in favour of the *Militia* 'raiſed againſt *Henry* the third, (for then he wrote) 'and might call that Aſſembly of *Earls* and *Barons*, 'then combined againſt the *King*, *Curiam*, the higher 'Court or Counſel. But he contradicts this elſe-where, not onely in that ſentence, *Rex in regno, parem habere non debet, cum par in parem non habeat poteſtatem, multò fortiùs non habeat ſuperiorem*; 'That the King in his 'Kingdom ought to have no equal, becauſe one equal 'can have no power over another, much leſs ſhould he 'have any ſuperior. But alſo by other ſentences quoted out of him above. Somewhat perhaps like *Cicero*, ſometime with *Pompey*, ſometime for *Ceſar*, as not a few have been in our time.

fol. 34. A.

* *lib.* 1. *c.* 17. *de juſtitiariis ſubſtituendis.*

Declar. L. L. Com. Nov. 2. 1642. *pag.* 22.

Dr. *Fearn's* Conſcience ſatisfied, *ſect.* 4. *pag.* 17. 1248.

Another alſo is cited, who ſaith, *Ad hanc poteſtatem à populo effluxam ipſe habet, quo non licet ei poteſtate aliâ populo ſuo dominari.* 'That the King, by having this 'power flowing from the *people*, is obliged ſo, that it is 'not lawful for him to rule over them by any other au- 'thority. But this aſſertion, being back'd with no antient *record*, or *cuſtom*, nor with any judged *caſe*, or Act of *Parliament*, yea, contrary to the known *proceſs* and *practiſe* of the Law, and *Acts* of Parliament, and general ſentences of *Lawyers*, cannot ſatisfie, eſpecially if we

2. *Forteſcue. fol.* 25. B. By the fuller anſwer to Dr. *Fearn. pag.* 3.

Anſw. 1.

we consider, that if such power had flowen from the people, yet, as the *King* observes, 'it doth not follow, that
2. Answer to the Remonstr. of *May* 26. 1642. *pag.* 10. 'it must therefore *return* unto them, at least when and in 'what manner they *will*. As in the case of the power of the Husband, which first did flow unto him from the Wife, but may not be resumed without breach of wedlock, and that also adjudged *lawfully*. The Law is other-
3. 24 *H.* 8. *c.* 12. wise, which teacheth us, *That this Realm of England hath been accepted for an Empire, governed by one supream Head, unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, of the Spiritualty, and Temporalty, are bound to bear, next unto God, a natural obedience.* 'And that by the Law of nature, and of the Land,
Reply to Dr. *Ferm's* answer *sect.* 3. *pag.* 18. 'we owe Allegiance, as we saw above. Now this is 'not answered, by saying, 'By the preamble of the Sta-'tute it appears so to be made, to prevent appeals to '*Rome*; and that by the *supreme* Head is meant such a one, 'as is able to do all needful acts of justice, which the 'King in his natural capacity cannot do, and therefore 'must be understood in his politick capacity, which 'takes in *Law* and *Parliament*. For the whole body politick, whether *Parliament* or *People*, are governed and made subject to this *Supreme Head*, and do owe unto him *natural obedience*. And accordingly in *His*, not in the Houses of *Parliament's* name, though sitting, do all judgments and executions of Law proceed. The authority then of the two Houses of Parliament, is the authority of the Body, not of the Head, by which, even *it* also must be governed, and against which it may not oppose it self. For as he said, 'I permit not a woman to
1 Tim. 2. '*usurp authority* over the man, but to live in *subjection*; holds betwixt the political Spouse and Husband also. (I have done with the third.)

4. Case of Necessity. To the fourth Motive the case of Necessity. We must here note *Thesin, & Hypothesin*; the *general* and the *particular* state of the Question. 1. In *Thesi*, and in general. 'Tis true, Pleaders for Regal power do acknowledge, that there may indeed fall out some cases, where-

in

in ſuch deſignments may be warrantable. As firſt, in *general*, when *per patrias leges licere judicarunt —— Hîc verò politica res agitur, Quid principi juris in ſubditos per leges cujuſq; reipublicæ fundatrices permiſſum ſit, &c.* 'When they might judge that it was lawful by the *Laws* 'of their Country. Now here the Queſtion is civil and 'political, namely, What power is given to the Prince 'over his *ſubjects*, by the *fundamental* Laws of each 'Common-wealth, &c. ſaith the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. Here *Law* is made the bottom in general; but that Law muſt be produced that may be known. In *particular* two or three caſes are alleadg'd, whereinr onely it is found allowable. *Non alias igitur populo in eum poteſtas eſt, quàm ſi id committat, propter quod ipſo jure Rex eſſe deſinat. Tunc enim, quia ſe ipſe principatu exuit, atque in privatis conſtituit, liber hoc modo populus & ſuperior efficitur, reverſo ad illum ſcilicet, jure illo, quod ante regem inauguratum in interregno habuit —— duo tantum (commiſſa) invenio —— duos inquam caſus —— Horum unus eſt, ſi regnum & Rempublicam evertere conetur, hoc eſt, ſi id ei propoſitum eaq; intentio fuerit ut regnum diſperdat, quemadmodum de* Nerone *fertur —— & de Caligula. —— Talia cum Rex aliquis meditatur & molitur ſerio, omnem regnandi curam & animum illico abjicit, ac proinde imperium in ſubditos amittit, ut * dominus ſervi pro derelicto habiti dominium. Alter caſus eſt, ſi Rex in alicujus clientelam ſe contulerit, ac regnum quòd liberum à majoribus & populo traditum accepit, aliena ditioni mancipaverit, &c.* And inſtanceth in *Baliol* King of *Scots*, that ſubjected his Crown and Kingdom to *Edward* the firſt, of *England*; then adds, *Ejurationem ſpontalem excipio, de qua nulla inter mortales dubitatio*, which I need not Engliſh, becauſe for ſubſtance the ſame is delivered before him by our own Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. 'I muſt 'confeſs, ſaith he, that except the *Laws* of thoſe Realms 'do permit the people to ſtand on their right, if the 'Prince would offer that wrong, I dare not allow 'their arms — Caſes may fall out, even in Chriſtian Kingdoms,

Abbot de Anti-Ch. cap. 7. n. 5. & 6.

Guil. Barcla. contr. Monarchom. lib. 3. prope fin.

Aurel. Victor. de Cæſarib. Sueton. cap. 49. & cap. 30.

* *l. 1. & ult. D. pro derelict.*

Bilſon of Subj. & Rebel. part. 3. edit. Lond. 1586. pag. 279, 280.

'Kingdoms, where the people may plead their right 'againſt the Prince, and not be charged with rebellion. 'Phil. As when for example? Theop. If the Prince 1. 'ſhould go about to ſubject his Kingdom to a *forreign* 2. 'Realm, or change the *form* of the Common-wealth 3. 'from Empery to Tyranny; or neglect the *Laws* eſta-'bliſhed by *common* conſent of Prince and People, to 'execute his own pleaſure: In theſe, and other caſes 'which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons 'joyn together to defend their antient and accuſtomed 'Liberty, Regiment, and *Laws*, they may not well be 'counted Rebels. ——I never denyed that the people might preſerve the *foundation*, free-'dom, and form of their Common-wealth, 'which they fore-priſed, when they firſt con-'ſented to have a King.—— I never ſaid, 'That Kingdoms and Common-wealths might 'not proportion their States as they thought 'beſt by their publick *Laws*, which afterward 'the Princes themſelves may not violate— In King-'doms where Princes bear rule by the ſword, we do 'not mean the Princes *private will* againſt his *Laws*; but 'his Precept derived from his *Laws*, and agreeing with 'his Laws; which though it be wicked, yet may not be 'reſiſted of any ſubject with armed violence. Mary 'when Princes offer their ſubjects not juſtice, but force, 'and deſpiſe all Laws to practiſe their luſts, Not every, 'nor any private man may take the ſword to redreſs the 'Prince: But if the *LAWS* of the land appoint the 'nobles, as next to the King, to aſſert him in doing right, 'and with-hold him from doing wrong; *THEN* be 'they licenſed by mans *LAW*, and ſo not prohibited 'by Gods, to interpoſe themſelves for ſafeguard of 'equity and innocency: and by all *lawful* and needful 'means to procure the Prince to be reformed, but in 'no caſe *deprived*, where the Scepter is *inherited*— But he explains himſelf further in the very next page, (*viz.* That he meant ſtill according unto *Law.*) 'The 'reſt

But *part* 3. *pag.* 114. he ſaith, It is the *Popes* Divinity, that Princes have their power from the people, which, he ſaith, they have from God.

Princes will.

Note. If the *Laws* appoint.

Note. Not diſinherit.

'reſt of the Nobles (ſaith he) that did aſſiſt them (the 'King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, againſt the 'King of *France*) if it were the *Kings* act that did op- 'preſs them, and not the *Guiſes: except the* LAWS 'of the land do permit them means to ſave the 'State from open tyranny, I will not excuſe. And * elſe- where, 'I will not (ſaith he) examine the *Popes* Divinity, '(*Zachary*, in his anſwer to the *German* Legates, 'wherein he ſaith, the *people* create their King, and the 'people may, when the cauſe ſo requireth, forſake their 'King: 'tis, you ſee, the *Popes* Doctrine) I will not ſaith 'he, examine the *Popes* Divinity, in that he ſaith, *Princes* 'have their powers of the people, which the Scripture ſaith, 'they have of God. And before, (*part.* 2. *p. m.* 328.) 'This is the *Supremacy* which we attribute to Princes, 'that *all* men within their territories ſhould obey their 'Laws, or abide their pleaſure; and that no man on earth 'hath authority to take their *Swords* from them, 'by *Judicial* ſentence, or *Martial* violence.

Note.

* part 3. pag. 144.

Aventin. lib. p. 299.

Howſoever, as I ſaid, thoſe things before may be ſo in *Theſi*, and the matter *abſolutely* conſidered; yet being excited by the *fruits* to view all the *roots* again, I cannot ſatisfie my conſcience, that in *Hypotheſi*, and in particular, *hîc* and *nunc*, the caſe was ſuch with us at the beginning of the war. And if there had been any urgency to any of thoſe caſes, yet Mr. *Pym* whom all men know was no paſſionate Royaliſt, ſaith, 'If you 'take away the protection of the King, the vigour and 'cheerfulneſs of Allegiance will be taken away, *though* 'the OBLIGATION *remain*. Protection then and Allegiance are not ſuch *correlatives*, as that they do *ſe mutuo ponere & tollere*, as ſome would have. But to return. That the caſe was not ſo with us, and that this may appear to have been no groundleſs conceit of my *own*, I produce the two Houſes of Lords and Commons: 'We 'acknowledge (ſay they) with much *thankfulneſs*, that 'his *Majeſty* hath paſſed *more* good *Bills*, to the *advantage* 'of

Note.

Mr. *Pyms* ſpeech at the charge of the Earl of *Straſford*, *pag. m.* 5.

Protection and Alleg.

1. Parliament Teſtimony.

Remonſtr. of the ſtate of the Kingdom, *Novemb.* 15. 1641. *pag.* 26.

1. Bills paſs'd by the King.

'*of the ſubjects*, than have been in *MANY AGES*.

pag. 23. 2. Security to the Subject.

This for the *matter* of conceſſions. Next, for the *Security*, hear them again: 'The *diſcontinuance* of Parliaments is 'prevented by a Bill for *Triennial* Parliaments; and the '*abrupt diſſolution* of this Parliament by another Bill, by 'which it is provided, it ſhall not be diſſolved or ad-'journ, without the conſent of *both* Houſes. Which *two* 'Laws well conſidered, may be thought more advan-'tagious than *ALL* the former, becauſe they *SECURE* 'a full operation of the preſent remedy, and afford a '*PERPETUAL* ſpring of remedies for the future. Thus the Parliament.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* his teſtimony.

Now ſecondly, That theſe conſiderations did then work ſtrongly upon the hearts of ſome of their own *Members*, againſt engaging in the War, may be ſeen by a ſpeech (printed) of Sr. *Benjamin Rudyards*, to whoſe *worth* and *piety* Mr. *Francis Rous*, a member alſo, gives, upon his own *long* and *intimate* knowledge, a very high *elogy*. He in that ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, *July* the 9. *Anno* 1642. *page* 2. ſaith, 'Mr. *Speaker*, 'I am touched, I am pierced, with an apprehenſion of 'the *honor* of the Houſe, and *ſucceſs* of Parliament. 'The beſt way to give a *ſtop* to theſe deſperate imme-'nent miſchiefs, is, to make a fair way for the *KING's* '*RETURN* hither; it will likewiſe give beſt ſatisfa-'ction to the *people*, and will be our beſt juſtification.

In his Epiſtle Dedicatory to him of one of his Tractates, amongthe reſt of Mr. *Rous's* works.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* his ſpeech in Parliament.

page 3. Note.

And again. 'If any man could have credibly told us, '1 that within *three years* you ſhall have a *Parliament*; '2 that *Ship-mony* ſhall be taken away by an *Act* of Par-'liament, the reaſons and grounds of it ſo rooted out as 'that neither it, nor any thing like it, can ever grow up 'again; 3 That *Monopolies*, 4 the *High-commiſſion* 'Court, 5 the *Star-chamber*, 6 the *Biſhops* Votes, ſhall 'be taken away; 7 the *Council-table* regulated and re-'ſtrained; 8 the *Foreſts* bounded and limited; 9 that ye 'ſhall have a *Triennial* Parliament; 10 and more then 'that, a *perpetual* Parliament, which none ſhall have 'power to diſſolve without your ſelves: We ſhould

1. Acts paſſed.

'have

'have thought this a *dream* of happineſs, yet now we 'are in the real *poſſeſſion* of it—— We ſtand *chiefly* upon 2. Security.
'*ſecurity*, whereas the *VERY HAVING* of theſe 'things is a convenient *fair ſecurity*, *mutually* ſecuring 'one another. Then is *MORE* ſecurity offered, 'even in this laſt Anſwer of the *Kings*, by removing 'the perſonal votes of *Popiſh Lords*, by the better edu-'cation of *Papiſts children*, by ſupplying the defect of 'Laws againſt *Recuſants*, &c. —— Wherefore, Sir, Note.
'let us beware we do not contend for ſuch a *hazardous* '*unſafe ſecurity*, as may endanger the loſs of what we 'have already. Let us not think we have nothing, be-'cauſe we have not all we deſire: and though we had, 'we cannot make a *MATHEMATICAL* ſecurity. 'All *humane* caution is ſuſceptible of corruption and 'failing. *Gods providence* will not be bound, ſucceſs Note.
'muſt be *His*. —Every man here is bound in *conſcience* 'to employ his uttermoſt endeavours, to prevent the 'effuſion of *BLOOD*. *BLOOD* is a *CRYING* ſin, it Note.
'pollutes a Land. *LET US SAVE OUR LIBER-'TY AND ESTATES, AS WE MAY SAVE 'OUR SOULS TOO.* Now I have freely delivered 'my own conſcience, I leave every man freely to his.

Thus far that worthy Knight; and I have been told by one acquainted with him, and that did ſometime viſit him in his laſt ſickneſs, that he ſaid, 'That ſome of 'the moſt *active* men would not have been for the 'raiſing of Arms, but that they had a ſtrong opinion, Mr. *Hamd.* 'that the *King* had ſo little intereſt in the affections of Mr. *Pym* (and others) whom 'the people, that he would never be able to raiſe force he named.
'to oppoſe them. And that he (the ſaid Sir *Benjamin* One occaſion
'*Rudyard*) did labour earneſtly to diſſwade them from of the War.
'that conception, but could not.

Add hereunto in the *third* place, Gods own *active* 3. Gods Teſti-
teſtimony, as it appears againſt the courſes purſued, mony.
which is not lightly to be paſſed; for as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, Pſal. 111.
'He doth ſo perform his works, that they ought to be
'had in remembrance. For although the *Word* of God, 1.

2. and, the *particular* determination of it unto our ſpecial condition by wholeſome *Laws*, is a ſufficient light 'unto our feet, and lanthorn unto our paths; yet this Word receives much illuſtration and confirmation, by his *works*, both of *nature* (and therefore theſe are joyned with it in the Pſalm) and of *providence*, as *Conſtantine* the Great Obſerves, *viz.* 'That believers had light 'enough by the *Word* to diſcern the true *Religion* from 'the falſe, yet the working of *providence* in order there-'unto did make the matter much more evident. So in the preſent affair, for whereas there were but *two* main things for which the *War* was undertaken, *Religion*, and the *Laws*. *God* ſeems to declare his judgment concerning our undertaking this way to defend them, *providence* defeating us in *both*, yea and that both after full *victory* obtained, and quiet *poſſeſſion* enjoyed: Whence *you may* 'very reaſonably believe, *that God is not pleaſed* with the 'attempts that have been made, ſince he hath uſually 'encreaſed the confuſion by all the ſucceſs that hath 'been deſired; and brought that to paſs without effect, 'which the deſigners have propoſed, as the beſt means 'to ſettle and compoſe the Nation; as a *better* hand hath notably obſerved. Firſt, for *Religion*, not onely the infinite growth of all, even the moſt horrid *opinions*, and ſects and factions of ſuch, denying not onely the *Lord* that bought them, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, but the *Principle* it ſelf, the Scriptures; together with the contempt of Gods *worſhip* it ſelf, as well as the eſtabliſhed form thereof, doth abundantly ſhew, *de facto*, that we have loſt *Religion*; but above all, that unparallel'd *Act for Toleration*, that *de jure* we muſt loſe it, doth demonſtrate. And the precedent thereof, that *Ordinance* of the Lords and Commons, whereby the *ſecurity* of it, the eſtabliſhed *Liturgy* was removed, and the Act againſt *Recuſancy* repealed, whereby the flood-gates for opinions and practices in Religion was thrown open; ſince which, that which was but then *in ſemine*, is now *in arbore*, and that ſuch an one, as all the unclean fouls under heaven

3. Pſal. 19.

Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. l. 2. c. 25.

Ends of the War defeated.

Kings Letter from *Breda* unto the General, *April* 4. 1660

1. Religion.

2 Pet. 2.

Proclamation for Toleration *Feb.* 15. 1654.

Ordinance of Lords and Commons, *Jan.* 3. 1644.

came

came and lodged in the branches of it. This for Religion. Then for the *Laws*, and our *Liberties* conteined in them; first, the *Court of Juſtice*, (untruly ſo called) did *de facto*, and in deed, extirpate that, and pluck it up by the roots, as ſeizing upon any mans eſtate, liberty and life againſt *Law*, and upon arbitrary power, againſt the *Great Charter*. But ſecondly, it is avowed by him, that of late aſſumed the Supreme Power, that all our *Laws* and government was diſſolved, and that he might do *de jure* and of *right* what he pleaſed; ſo the other ground and foundation of the War, the *Law*, was loſt alſo. And becauſe in this cauſe he is a very authentick witneſs, as having been ſo deep an actor in the motion, we will hear himſelf ſpeak, and that in the face of the Nation, in an Aſſembly of it, which he call'd a *Parliament*, that ſo God might openly ſhew us what we would not ſee before: He ſaith, 'That thoſe honeſt *ends* of our fighting 'were *not* attained and ſetled. Again, My power (ſaith 'he) by this reſignation (from the convention of a few 'called by himſelf) was *BOUNDLESS* and *UNLI-* 'MITED. And upon the matter, *ALL GOVERN-* 'MENT *DISSOLVED*, all *civil Adminiſtrations* at an end. Again, the *Soldiery* were a *conſiderable part of the Nation*, eſpecially *ALL GOVERNMENT* being *DISSOLVED*; I ſay, when *ALL GOVERNMENT* was thus *DISSOLVED*, and nothing to keep things in order but the *SWORD*. Where, by the way, you may perceive, that the myſtery of this iniquity, even from the beginning, and before there was a blow ſtrucken, did work. For at the time when the Horſes were lifting, and mony and plate was brought into *Guild-Hall*, diſcourſe being betwixt him and one I know, in my hearing, touching the final reſolution of power: He ſaith, That if the *King* did not do his duty, it deſcended to the Parliament; and if the *Parliament* did not do theirs, it devolved to the *People*. Now, a few days before the death of the King, being preſſed in my hearing, why the *Army* ſhould act ſuch a thing, and asked, if they were

2. The Laws.

Court of Juſtice.

Note. Lord Protector's ſpeech, *Sept.* 12. 1654. page 11, 13.

pag. 19.

Note.

1. Reſolution of Government in a Levellers ſenſe.

2. The application.

were *the judgment of the Kingdom*? He replyed, Shew me ſuch a body of people in the Nation as the Army is, that have not forfeited their liberties; and ſo implying, that they might aſſume unto themſelves the judgment of the Kingdom, (though in that caſe the Kingdom it ſelf could not judge, as was ſhewed above out of Mr. *St. Johns* ſpeech, becauſe *the Royal Perſon is exempt from vindicative juſtice.*) So here in this ſpeech, all Government being, as he ſaid, diſſolved, the Army were a conſiderable part of the Nation. Nay, by what follows, that there was left nothing to keep things in order but the *ſword*, he might have ſaid as before, That they were the onely judgment of the Nation. But this by the way, though not out of it. Again, in the former ſpeech: 'The 'Judges (ſaith he) thinking, that there was a diſſolution 'of the Government ——— did declare one to ano- 'ther, that they could not adminiſter juſtice to the ſatiſ- 'faction of their *conſciences*, untill they had received 'Commiſſions from *me*. And as touching the Parliament, and the *Militia*, the great *Helena* of our *Trojan* War, whether it ſhould remain in the King, or the Parliament have power of it, he ſaith, 'Whether the Parlia- 'ment have not liberty to *alter the form of Government*, 'to *Ariſtocracy*, to *Democracy*, to *Anarchy*, to any thing, 'if this [*THE MILITIA*] be fully in them? yea, unto all *CONFUSION*, and that without remedy. Laſtly, as touching the *Supreme Magiſtrate*, whoſe Perſon then he had uſurped, he ſaith, I ſhall be willing to be bound more then I am, in any thing that I may be *CONVINCED* of, may be for the good of the people; which point was like the Armour of *Hector*, betwixt *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes*, at the beginning of the War.

pag. 21. Note.

The Judges.

pag. 33. The Parliam.

The Militia, whether to be in Parliament.

Note.

The Kings Negative voice. *pag.* 34.

Now from theſe expreſſions we may obſerve, 1. That the *ends* of the War, Religion and Law, were not attained but perverted. 2. That the government of the Nation was diſſolved, in their judgment, and not ſetled. 3. That we were under an abſolute *arbitrary* power. 4. That in his judgment, the Parliament ought not to have

Corollaries from the former ſpeech.

Note.

have the *Militia* in them. 5. And laſtly, That the *Supreme* Magiſtrate muſt be *convinced* in his *own* judgment, before he yield to alter what (by right) he is poſſeſſed of; in reference unto all which, the *War* was undertaken.

But to cloſe this point, and to leave it with ſome further *authentick* demonſtration and evidence; The two Houſes of *Parliament* in their *Declaration, ſetting forth the grounds* of their taking up *Arms*, publiſhed *Auguſt* 3. 1642. do repreſent onely three ſorts of them, *viz.* 1. either ſome *former* miſcarriages of the Kings Government; or 2. ſome preparations on his part to *War*, with the *incidents* thereunto; or laſtly, his *refuſal* to grant their *petitions*, eſpecially that of *July* 16. 1642. containing their deſire of the *Militia*, the leaving *Delinquents* to their tryal, the Kings *return*, and *concurrence* with the Houſes. Together with the reſult of all theſe, the *danger* to the *Kingdom* in *Laws*, *Liberty*, and *Religion*.

4. Teſtimony of the Parl. grounds of the war, declar. *Aug.* 3. 1642. of the *grounds* of the war.

Now for the firſt of theſe, the King had not onely *acknowledged* ſome of them, as, 'the *diſſolution* of the Par-'liament before; of the unhappy diſſolution of the laſt, 'ſaith the *King*, by the *uninformation* and advice of 'ſome perſons, looked upon now under another cha-'racter. Where they ſhould remember, that ſome miſcarriages in government is incident unto all *Princes*, (yea, all Governors) whereof *Diocleſian* maketh a very ſerious complaint: *Nihil eſt (inquit) difficilius quàm benè imperare. Nam quatuor vel quinque viri ſe colligunt, atq; unum conſilium cæpiunt ad Imperatorem decipiendum, dicunt quod probandum ſit. Imperator qui domi clauſus eſt, vera non novit; Cogitur hoc tantum ſcire quod illi loquuntur; Facit judices quos fieri non oportebat; amovet à Republicâ quos retinere debebat. Quid multa? Bonus, cautus & optimus venditur imperator.* 'There is 'nothing more difficult (ſaith he) than to rule well. Four 'or five men aſſociate themſelves, and take counſel to-'gether to delude the King; they adviſe what is to be 'done.

1.

Former errors in Government.

Vopiſcus in vitâ Aurelian. cit. à Bucholc. Chronol. ad Anz. d. 304.

A Note for Princes.

'done. The Prince, who is ſhut up at home, knows no-
'thing of the certainty of things, but is conſtrain-
'ed to know onely that which they acquaint him with;
'He makes (hereupon) thoſe Judges whom he ought
'not, and removes thoſe from government that he
'ſhould not. To be ſhort, a good, provident, and ex-
'cellent Prince, is bought and ſold. Thus he. And the Parliament themſelves were not a little abuſed by their informers. Again the King acknowledges his failing in coming in perſon to the houſe of *Commons* to ſeize the *five* Members, and ſaith, 'As if by that ſingle caſual mi-
Kings anſwer to the Declation of *May* 19.1642.p.10. *Edit. Cambr.*
'ſtake of ours, in form onely, we had forfeited all duty,
'credit, and allegiance from our people. We muſt, *with-*
'*out endeavouring to excuſe that, which in truth was an*
'*error, our going to the Houſe of Commons.* But beſides theſe acknowledgments, the *King* made real, both *amends* and *ſecurity* for the future, not onely by ſolemn *promiſe*, but by paſſing ſuch *Acts* of Parliament, that did not onely remove the former grievances, but alſo *ſecure* the ſubject for the time to come, as we ſaw above, both by the acknowledgment of the Commons in the Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Kingdom; among other things, theſe, 'The *Monopolies* are all ſuppreſt. That
2.
pag.22,23,24.
'which is more beneficial than all this is, that the *root* of
'thoſe evils is taken away, which was the *arbitrary*
'power, pretended to be in his Majeſty, of taxing the
'ſubject, or charging their eſtates without conſent in
'Parliament, which is now declared to be againſt Law,
'by the judgment of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an
'*Act* of Parliament (now the Kings conſent was there)
'——The evil *Counſellors* ſo quelled— the *Star-*
'*chamber*, the *High-commiſſion*, the *Courts of the Pre-*
'*ſident*, and Council in the North, are all taken away.
'The immoderate power of the *Council-Table* is ordered
'and reſtrained; we may well hope, that no ſuch
'things—— will appear in future times, but onely
Note.
'ſtories, to give us and our poſterity more occaſion *to*
'*praiſe God* for his Majeſties *goodneſs*, and the faithful
'endeavours

'endeavours of this Parliament. The *Canons*, and *power* '*of Canon*-making are blaſted by the vote of both 'Houſes; the exorbitant power of *Biſhops* and their '*Courts*, are much abated; the Authors of many *Inno-* '*vations* in Doctrine and Ceremonies —— terrified; '— the *Forreſts* are by a good Law reduced to their 'right bounds; the —— oppreſſions of the *Stannary* 'Courts; the extortions of the *Clerk of the Market*; the 'compulſion of ſubjects to receive *Knighthood* —— 'are by other beneficial Laws reformed.— Many ex- 'cellent Laws and proviſions are in preparation, which 'they there enumerate. Then a little before they ſay, 'The *diſcontinuance* of Parliament is prevented by a 'Bill for a *Triennial* Parliament; and the abrupt *diſſo-* '*lution* of this by another Bill. Whence they truly collect, and profeſs, 'We *acknowledge* with much pag. 26. '*thankfulneſs*, that his Majeſty hath paſſed more good 'Bills to the *advantage of the ſubject*, than have been in '*MANY ages*. Thus they. Now were not the *former failings* of Government ſufficiently remedied? and the fear of *future* is acknowledged here to be ſecured and prevented. No ground then of the War for what was *paſſed*.

Come we to the ſecond, The Kings preparations for War; he ſaith *they* were firſt, they the contrary; if it be hard to determine, perhaps it is not greatly material, ſeeing they were very near one the other; and that argued both *jealouſie* (I ſay a jealouſie) of intentions to deſtroy each the other, and actings to prevent it. Now take it at the worſt, that the King prepared firſt (which yet doth not appear) yet conſidering that he having granted all the former *Acts* (*acknowledged* to *amend* the *paſt*, and *ſecure* the *future*) and they not ſatisfying, (but high demandings and *declarations* ſtill and *actings*) in his conſcience no doubt he did, as in reaſon he might, apprehend intentions (in ſome) to deſtroy the *Government*, (as it hath ſince come to paſs) and the *Laws* of the Nation: he might be induced thereunto by a conſideration of his Kings preparation for war.

duty, and doubtleſs was, ſeeing no other way, though often tryed, would prevail. The *motions* of the Houſes, and ſpecially of the *Commons*, did give occaſion to him to think of ſecuring the Liberties from ſuch intrenchings.

3. Not yielding the Militia, &c.

Touching the laſt, 'His not granting that Petition, and 'giving way to the *Militia*, and rendring up thoſe who 'adhered to him, and returning to *London*, and concur-'ring with the Houſes, and disbanding his forces, and re-'calling his Commiſſions of Array, and others Military: The rendring of the *Militia* had been to depoſe himſelf of *Soveraignty*, whoſe eſpecial enſign and ſecurity is the power of the *Sword*. His giving up thoſe who adhered to him, had (in appearance) been to ſend *Urijah* for his faithful ſervice to his enemies. To return to *London*, was to object him to thoſe temptations, which he could not, nor perhaps any Prince ought to hazard himſelf unto, unleſs more effectual order had been taken to prevent both *contumely* and *danger*, which is a truth, howſoever ſlighted. To concur with the Houſes at this time, had been to have given up at once both his *ſafety* and *conſcience*. The recalling his Commiſſions, and disbanding his Forces, unleſs both themſelves had done ſo too, and alſo had declared their *repentance* for their provocations of him, had been to ſtrip both himſelf and Kingdom of neceſſary defence againſt thoſe, whom he had cauſe to think would invade both, as it proved afterward. So that by high and extraordinary actings, to provoke the *King* to *like* undertakings, and then to raiſe Arms, becauſe he would not deſert them without ſecurity, is, as if one ſhould by aſſault provoke a man to draw his ſword, and then fight him, becauſe he will not put it up again, and ſtand to mercy.

1 Sam. 11.

4. No Law alleadged for the war in particular.

But a fundamental error it was in that declaration, that held out the *grounds of the war*, That no *particular Law* was alledg'd, to enable them to that way of ſecuring the Nation: For granting all to be as was ſuggeſted, yet onely *id poſſumus quod jure poſſumus*. 'We may not

Rom. 3.

'do

'do evil, as all actings above our ſphere is, that good 'may come of it. This ſhould have been the chief ground for *conſcience* to reſt upon. Whereas on the contrary, the *King* alledges divers *particular Laws* for his bearing of the Sword, as alſo *examples* of men, that have upon *neceſſity*, ſome real, ſome pretended, taken the *Sword*, and though they have done ſervice to the King and Common-wealth by it, have been forc'd to obtain their pardon. There is no need here to name particulars, the *conſtant practiſe* in the Nation juſtifying the Kings *ſole bearing* of the ſword. Now to come to an *iſſue*, The King as much fears the ruine of the Laws and himſelf, as the two Houſes do the Liberties and themſelves, and their grounds we will ſuppoſe (though not grant) are equal. The *King* is in *poſſeſſion*, and by *Law entruſted* with the *Sword* to protect both: The *two Houſes* produce *none*. Then ſure, as this ſhould have prevented *reſiſtance* then, ſo, eſpecially taking in what hath *followed*, ought it to provoke *repentance* now. And this much in anſwer to the fourth Motive.

Kings Proc'amation from *York*, *Jun.* 18. 1642. forbidding levying of Soldiers.

The iſsue of the Queſt.

SECT. III.

Anſwer to the fifth Motive, Examples.

I Come now to the laſt, *viz.* The *Examples* in *Scripture*, and in latter times, together with the approbation of ſuch Examples, by our *Princes* and *Biſhops*, above alledg'd. To all which I anſwer, firſt, in *general*, 'That we muſt apply our ſelves firſt unto the *Law* and 'to the *Teſtimony*; if they ſpeak not according to this '*rule*, there is no light in them to guide us by. And that in *Examples*, the greateſt of all is the *Captain* of our Salvation, who ever did precept and practice to give unto *Ceſar* the things that were *Ceſars*; yea, for peace-ſake, to give him that which was not his from ſome. 'All other examples we muſt ſo follow, as they

Iſa. 10.

Matth. 22.

Matth. 17. *ult.*

1 Cor. 11. 1.

Matth. 26. 52. 'follow him; now he forbad to reſiſt, for they that *take*
'*the ſword* ſhall periſh by the ſword; namely, if ſuch to
The Sword. *whom the ſword is* not *committed*, which muſt needs be
the *ſupreme Magiſtrate*, the ſword being the *Enſign*
Rom. 13. *of ſupreme power*. Hence that of the Apoſtle, 'The
'*higher powers* bear not the *ſword* for nought; *they* then
are they who bear the *ſword*. This in general.

2. *David*. But in particular. 1. *David*'s retaining a few men to
guard himſelf (being deſign'd *King*) from the violence of
private men, and from the *ſudden* and paſſionate aſſaults
of *Saul*'s diſtemper and malice, fleeing, and not *fighting*,
2 Reg. 6. 32. ſuch as was the Prophet *Eliſha* his holding the Kings
meſſenger at the door, who ſaw the King coming to
1 Sam. 14. 45. change his ſentence. Alſo the peoples reſcuing of *Jo-
nathan*, not by any ſet conteſt or *battel*, but by a friendly
kind of violence. And the *Prieſts* thruſting *Uzziah*,
2 Chron. 26. 20. being leprous, out of the *Temple*, but not reſiſting any
of his Regal precepts, or ſuch forcible impreſſions. All
theſe, and ſuch like, are ridiculous parallels to the raiſing
of an *Army*, and managing of a War. For though theſe
examples ſhew, that there may be ſome kind of ami-
cable or *forcible* reſiſtance made to the perſon of a King,
in ſome *private* affairs, and in ſome *particular* occaſions,
(as *David* might have held *Saul*'s hands, if he had in
the like manner fall'n upon him, as he did caſt his
Javelin at him; And *Bathſheba* no doubt might have
reſiſted *David*, (if he would have forced what he did per-
ſwade) yet theſe no way infer a *publick* and *armed* con-
2. *Keilah*. teſt againſt him. Secondly, *David*, if by temptation
he would have reſiſted at *Keilah*, yet God, by letting
his friends become treacherous, kept him from giving
of ſuch a precedent. As he did alſo keep him from fight-
1 Sam. 29. ing againſt his own Prince, or elſe becoming *perfidious*,
and ingrateful to his benefactor *Achiſh* (one of which
he muſt have done) by turning the ſpirit of the Lords of
3. Cave of *Adullam*. the *Philiſtims* againſt him. But *thirdly*, when *David*
1 Sam. 24. and chap. 26. was out of *temptation*, and himſelf, when power was in
his hand, once and again, and he exhorted by ſome as

called

called by *God* to do it, yet refuſed, and that with this reaſon, becauſe he was the Lords Annointed, which is no more, but that he was *Legitimate* King; yea, his heart ſmote him for but cutting off the *lap*, what would it have done if by war he had occaſioned the cutting off the life and *head* of the King. Lords Annointed.

For the Revolt of the *ten Tribes* from *Solomon* under *Jeroboam*: Firſt, when others can produce ſo ſet, formal, and *ſolemn a call* thereunto as then was, and ſuch an *expreſs* approbation afterward, we may indulge them the opinion of *Abulenſis*, who on theſe and other grounds defendeth them. But ſecondly, they are expreſly charged with *Rebellion* by *Ahijah*, who ſaith, 'Ought ye not to 'to know, that the Lord God of *Iſrael* hath given the 'Kingdom over *Iſrael* to *David* for *ever*, even to him 'and to his ſons by a Covenant of *ſalt*? And *Jeroboam* 'the ſon of *Nebat*, the *ſervant* of *Solomon* the ſon of 'David, is riſen up, and hath *REBELLED* againſt his 'Lord. And *thirdly*, of this judgment are the very weighty, and I think the moſt Expoſitors, *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; *Jure damnatur populi (decem Tribuum) rebellio, quòd velut invito Deo, a Davidis poſteris deſciverit.* 'Juſtly 'are the people (of the ten Tribes) condemned, becauſe 'they would, as it were in ſpight of God, revolt from the 'poſterity of *David*, ſaith Mr. *Calvin*. Laſtly, of this judgment the *Lord* himſelf declares he was, both by word and action; by *word*, when he ſaith, 'They have 'ſet up Kings, but not by me, they have made Princes 'and I knew it not. By *action*, in that by this means he took both *peace* and true *Religion* from them, and withal ſent them into *captivity* long before the other, but never vouchſafed them any publick, viſible, and particular return that we read of; it being denied by their own, that the ten Tribes came back when the other two did. I have done with that inſtance. 3. Ten Tribes. See 1 King. 11. 29. chap. 12. 24. *In loc.* 2 Chron. 13, 5, 6. *Kimchi in* 2 Reg. 11. *Pet. Mart. in loc.* *Sanater in* 2 Chron. 13. 4. *Calv. Inſtit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *ult.* § *ult.* Hoſ. 8. 4. *Kimchi in* 1 Reg. 11. 39.

The fourth is *Libnah*, a City of the Prieſts which revolted from *Joram*, becauſe of his idolatry; but this, as that of *Edom*, who revolted at the ſame time, are no encouragements, 4. *Libnah*, 2 Chron. 21. *Anſw.*

couragements; they both being recorded as a *puniſhment* only of *Joram*, for his revolting from the Lord God of his Fathers; but no more commended then was *Abſolom*'s inſurrection, which alſo was by way of puniſhment; or *Jeroboam*'s Apoſtacy, which was for the idolatry of *Solomon*. 2. Again, it was not lawful for either *Edom* or *Libnah* ſo to do, eſpecially the latter, being a City of *Prieſts*, who ſhould both have known and taught, that defection from the houſe of *David* upon whom the Kingdom was ſetled, and *ſeparation* from the *Temple*, to which the worſhip was annexed, was rebellion both againſt God and man. But 'tis true too often, *omne malum à Sanctuario*; that from the *Prieſts* the ill example of ſedition and ſchiſm is derived unto the people.

Bilſ. part. 3 p. 196.

5. *Maccabees.* 5. Next, for the *Maccabees*. 1. *Antiochus* againſt whom they managed the war, and others, were *invaders* not *inheritors* of the *Kingdome*. Aliens, not *natural* Princes, to whom they owed no *allegiance* by *birth*, by *laws*, by *oath*, by *conqueſt*, by *ſucceſſion*, by *protection*. 2. Beſides, there are of their own that think the iſſue of that war proved bad, becauſe the *Maccabees* went beyond their calling. 3. Laſtly, if *Exitus acta probat*, this muſt not be alledged by them, that would finally thrive in ſuch an enterpriſe, for this at the length miſcarried, and ended in the *Roman* ſervitude.

6. The Primitive Chriſtians. 6. Touching the Primitive *Chriſtians* under *Maximinus*. We are firſt to note that they were not *ſubjects* to him, but confederates and friends. 'Moreover a war, 'ſaith the Hiſtorian, did ariſe to the Tyrant (*Maximi-*'*nus*) againſt the *Armenians*, who even from the be-'ginning, were the *friends* and confederates of the *Ro-*'*mans*. Theſe, who alſo were Chriſtians, and ſtudious 'of Religion, the hateful Tyrant endeavouring to force 'unto idolatry, and ſacrificing to Devils, of friends 'made them enemies, and of confederates, adverſaries.

1. *Euſeb. Hiſt. li. 9. cap. 7.*

Whence it is apparent they were not *ſubjects*. 2. Secondly, for other Chriſtians that might reſiſt in thoſe times, they might be, as ſome of them were, abetted by a *coordinate* power:

power: for each of the *Emperours* of the East and West, had their dominion a part, and the one did not ordinarily meddle with the other; yet the *Empire* was but *one*, whereof the Emperours that were, had the *general* protection, and might and did succour the oppressed, within the Dominions of their Colleague, as *Constantine* did the *Romans* against *Maxentius*; and *Licinius* against *Maximinus*; or if it were not so, yet were they coordinate Princes, not subjects. This for *particular* cases; But for the *general* spirit and practice of Christians of those times, all Writings and *Apologies* are full of the solemn protestations of the Christians, that though for *number* and *strength* they could, yet that it was not *lawful* for them to *resist*. As may be seen by that of *Justin Martyr*. 'God only (saith he) we wor- 'ship, but in other things, we are cheerfully obedient 'unto you, whom we acknowledge to be Kings and 'Princes of men. And *Irenæus*, *Cujus jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu & Reges constituuntur, apti iis qui in illo tempore ab ipsis Regantur. Quidam enim illorum ad correctionem & utilitati subditorum dantur & conservationem justitiæ; quidam autem ad tumorem & ad pœnam & increpationem; Quidam autem ad illusionem & contumeliam & superbiam, quemadmodum & digni sunt, Dei justo judicio in omnibus supervenienti.* 'By 'whose command (saith he) men are born, by the *same* 'command Kings are constituted, *fit* for those who in each 'time are to be governed by them. Some of them are 'given for the amendment and profit of their subjects, 'and preservation of Justice, but some for terrour 'and punishment, and rebuke; and some for mockery 'and contumely, and pride, according as men deserve, 'the just judgment of God prevailing in all things. Thus he, by which he implies *prayer* and *patience*, but no *resistance*. *Tertullian* likewise; *A quo sunt secundi (Reges) post quem (Deum) primi ante omnes, & super omnes Deos.* 'From whom (God) they (Kings) are *se-* 'cond, after whom they are *first*, before all, and above 'all

Euseb. l. 9. c. c. 9, 10.

3.

Apolog. 2.

Lib. 5. Adv. Hæres. Valentin.

Apologet. cap. 30 (cap. 33. cap. 37.)

'all Gods; that is, above all inferiour Magiſtrates. In a word, we may ſee the ſenſe of *Antiquity* in this point, in him, from whom *Calvin* would have us learn it in all, viz. S. *Auſtin*. *Ordo* naturalis *hoc poſcit, ut ſuſcipiendi belli Authoritas, penes principem ſit; exequendi autem miniſterium milites debeant*. 'Natural order (ſaith 'he) requires this, that the *Authority* of undertaking 'war be in the power of the *Prince*, but that the ſouldi-'ers owe the ſervice of execution and management. And that they wanted not either number or ſtrength one of the former Authours gives us aſſurance. *Si enim hoſtes extraneos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deeſſet nobis res numerorum & copiarum?* 'If we 'would, ſaith he, become open enemies, and not ſecret 'revengers, would there be wanting to us the force either 'of *number* or *Armies?* And ſo ſhews that the Chriſti-'ans filled all places; inſomuch that ſhould they but 'have withdrawn themſelves only from the reſt of men, 'they ſhould have made a deſolation in the world. And thus of the *Primitive* Chriſtians. * So vain is it to ſay, that *Tertullian* was miſtaken in their number.

Inſtit. l. 3. c. 3. § 10.

Aug. Contr. Fauſt. lib. 22. cap. 75.

Tertul. Apologet. cap. 37.

* Anticavalieriſm.

7. Reformed Churches.

7. In the laſt place, come we to the examples of the *Reformed* Churches, particularly thoſe of *France* and *Holland*, who are ſaid to have defended themſelves by arms, as we have done; defended by our *Writers*, and owned by our *Princes*. For Anſwer: Firſt, we are to note, that though perhaps it ſhould be granted that it may be lawful in ſome caſes for oppreſſed *ſubjects* to call for help unto other Foraign and lawful power, becauſe theſe powers are *coordinate* with their own in reſpect of *degree* and dignity, and in ſuch caſe, there is no violation of *order* by the riſing up of the *inferiour* againſt his Prince;

1.

2. But ſecondly, they were neither defended by our *Writers*, nor patronized by our *Princes*, farther then the *Laws* and their caſe, as repreſented by them did allow. 'If the *Laws* of the Land (ſaith Dr. *Bilſon*, ſpeaking 'of the *French*, the *Scottiſh*, and the *Holland Civil* wars) do

Difference of Subject and Rebel, *part. 3. pag. 279. Ed. Lond. 1586.*

'do not permit them to guard their lives, when they 'are assaulted with *unjust force against law*, we will ne-'ver excuse them from *rebellion*. And a little after; 'for my part, I must confess, saith he, that except the '*Laws of those Realms* do permit the people to stand 'on their right, if the *Prince* would offer that wrong, I '*dare not* allow their arms. And another treating of the same example, saith, *Quarum injuriarum atrocitates, occasionem forte dederunt bello civili, dum vim vi propulsant tantummodo, qui contra jus fasq; indignissimè habiti, id sibi per patrias* LEGES *licere judicarunt*: 'The 'horribleness of which injuries (saith he) peradventure 'gave occasion to the *Civil war*, whilst they do only re-'pell force by force, and who contrary to all right and 'equity were treated most unworthily; and did judge that 'they might do so, by the *Laws* of their Country. And again, *Hic verò politica res agitur, quid principi juris in subditos per leges cujusque Reip. fundatrices permissum sit*; The question here, saith he, is matter of Civil policy, *viz.* 'What power the Prince hath over his subjects, 'by the fundamental *Laws* of each Common-wealth. So that we see they defended these actions of the Protestants *abroad* so far only as they were *legal*. This for *their* cause. But as to *ours*, the former Authour shews it to be different. The *German Emperour* (saith he) is elected, and his power abated by the liberties of the Princes: (But) the *Queen of England* hath *one and the same* right over all her subjects, be they *NOBLES* or others. You see he makes *our cause* and case, laws and allegiance to differ from the former.

Abbot. de Antichrist. cap. 7. n. 5, 6.

Bilson of Subj. and Rebel, *part* 3. *p.* 277.

Kings of *Engl.*

N CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Reply to certain general Reaſons for the War.

Scripture and Reaſon for defence of Arms, a Book ſo called.

AND now to draw towards an end of this firſt point, the War. The defences made in the juſtification of the War, they are of *three* ſorts; from *Scripture*, from *Law*, and from *Reaſon*. Thoſe from *Scripture* and *Law* have been replyed to before.

SECT. I.

Law.

TO thoſe from *Reaſon*, laid down in the Book quoted in the Margin, a *ſeven fold* errour more eſpecially hath miſcarried the Authours, (though men otherwiſe of Learning and Piety) firſt in miſtaking the word *Law*. They ſeem to take the word *Law* to ſignifie *only* the *agreements*, *pactions* and *rules* eſtabliſhed by *mutual conſent* betwixt *Prince* and *people*, and make this *only* to be the ground of ſubjection and of commanding. So that what is beyond it, is no way obligatory either to be performed or ſuffered under, farther then neceſſity and the want of power to reſiſt doth enforce. But they forget that there is another and *ſuperiour Law*, *viz.* that of *God's Soveraignty*, oftentimes appointing an *Invader* or an *Uſurper*, or a *Tyrant* to rule for the puniſhment of a people. Whoſe *will only* is the *Law*, and whom God *will have* obeyed by *all ſubjects* in things lawful, and not reſiſted in things unlawful. So he appointed *Nebuchadnezzar*,

nezzar, *Jer.* 25. 15. not onely to rule over the *Jews*, but over all the *Nations* there mentioned, and they are enjoyned to obedience unto him. So, *Hoſ.* 13. 11. *Jeroboam* and the following Kings over the *ten Tribes*, *in his wrath*, as himſelf ſaith; or even over all *Iſrael*, as *Saul*, who is underſtood to be pointed at in that Text. And of their Kings 'tis expreſly ſaid, they ſhould onely be able to *cry* out in that day, which, by their *practiſe*, may be underſtood, that they ſhould be *allowed* to do no other. For elſe, why joyned they not with *David*, or why did not *David* himſelf reſiſt him, but always *fled* from him? And the *puniſhment* of all thoſe ſubjects that rebelled in the *ten Tribes* may infer, that though their Princes were both *Uſurpers* and *Tyrants*, ruling by will, and not by Law, yet it was not lawful for their *ſubjects* to reſiſt them. Which I extend not further here, than to ſhew their firſt miſtake, *viz.* That *Law* may be, not the *municipal* Laws of any particular place, but the *Supreme* Law of God, touching the ſubjection and non-reſiſtance of *ſubjects* toward their Princes. So in the *Roman* Emperors, whoſe *will* was Law, (for they permitted what they would onely to be in force, and overawed the *Senate*, whom they were obliged to act by, and for form-ſake did) and yet even to *Nero*, one of the worſt of them, the *Apoſtle* enjoyns abſolute ſubjection to all *inferiors*. And this *Supreme Law* of ſubjects *not-reſiſtance*, is ſignified by the Author of all government, in his own word, by rule, and by example. By *rule*, 'Fear 'God and the *King*, and meddle not with them that are 'given to change. Where the word of a King is, there 'is power, and who may ſay, What doſt thou? By me 'Kings reign, &c. And, I counſel thee to keep the *Kings* 'commandment, and that becauſe of the Oath of God. Theſe in the *Old*. In the *New Teſtament*, 'Give unto 'Ceſar the things that are *Ceſars*, ſays our Saviour. And, 'Let *every ſoul* be ſubject; he that *reſiſts*, reſiſts the Or-'dinance of God, ſays the Apoſtle. And, Submit your 'ſelves to every *Ordinance* of man for the Lords ſake, 'whether

1 Sam. 8. 18. Hoſ. 13. 11. Prov. 24. 21. Eccleſ. 8. 2. Prov. 8. Eccleſ. 8. 4. Matth. 22. 21. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

'whether to the *King* as ſupreme, &c. ſaith the Apoſtle
Tit. 3. 1. *Peter*. And, 'Put them in mind to be ſubject to prin-
'cipalities and powers, &c. 2. By *Examples* of all
we read of that were godly in the Old Teſtament. And in
the New; of *Chriſt* our Lord, who, though free, yet,
Matth. 17. 27. leſt he ſhould offend, paid where none was due. Of the
Apoſtles, and of all the *primitive* Chriſtians, as we ſaw
above. This therefore is their firſt miſtake, not mind-
ing a more ſuperior Law of ſubjection, then, that of
particular Nations.

SECT. 2.

Tyranny.

THeir ſecond is about the nature of *Tyranny*. They
ſay; it is *not* Gods Ordinance, and therefore not
'commanded to be obeyed by the *Apoſtle*, *Rom.* 13. nor
by *reaſon*, 'becauſe there is no rational tye by Law; they
'are a terror to the good, and tend to the *ſubverſion* and
1. 'overthrow of *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberty*. But firſt they
ſhould remember, that although a moral *evil* in any kind
be not Gods Ordinance, yet the *application* of it may, and
often is Gods Ordinance. As the ſetting of *Satan* to ex-
erciſe his malice upon men, and upon his own elect ſome-
times for their trial and humiliation, as he did upon *Job*;
Job 1. and the ſetting up a *King* in his wrath, as we ſaw above;
and the ſetting of *Pharaoh* over the *Iſraelites*, to whom
he gave no power of reſiſtance, though they were not
2. *properly* ſubjects. Secondly, though *Tyranny* be not Gods
Ordinance, yet the *Subjection* to it is his Ordinance.
Was not the invaſion of *Ceſar*, and reign of *Caligula*,
Nero, and others, a Tyranny, and yet the Apoſtle ſaith,
Obedience to it was Gods Ordinance, and for their good.
3. Thirdly, Though Tyranny be not Gods Ordinance, yet
Government is, though tyrannically exerciſed, which
good there is almoſt in all Tyrannies. Yea and as was

ſaid

ſaid before, Government Tyrannical is Gods Ordinance by way of *puniſhment* and animadverſion, he being Gods Miniſter to execute wrath, even *Gods* wrath, not onely upon them that *do*, but thoſe that *have* done evil; as alſo for the *tryal* of the faith and patience of his *Saints* for *well-doing*. 'That the Trial of their faith, which is much 'more precious than of gold, may be found glorious. This was the ſaying of *Tamerlane*, that moſt horrid Tyrant, but yet a truth; *Interrogatus aliquando ab homine Genuenſi cur tanta crudelitate uteretur? Commotus ac veluti furens diſtorta facie ac ſpirantibus ignem oculis, reſpondit; Tu me hominem eſſe arbitraris? falleris*, Ira Dei ego ſum, *& orbis vaſtitas*. Who being asked by a 'friend why he would be ſo cruel? He, being moved 'with the queſtion, and in a rage, his countenance di-'ſtorted, and his eyes flaſhing fire, anſwered; Doſt thou 'think me a man? thou art deceived: *I am the wrath of 'God, and the vaſtation and deſtruction of the world.* Tyranny therefore in this ſenſe explain'd, is oftentimes Gods Ordinance. This is their ſecond error.

Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 1.

Tamerlane.

Æneas Silv. in deſcript. Aſiæ Refer. Bucholcer. Chronol. An. 1398.

SECT. 3.

Ground of Non-reſiſtance.

THe *third* fundamental one, is their miſtake of the ground of *Non-reſiſtance*, or patience, which they make to be onely *lawful* power, and *legal* commands, (taking ſtill *lawful* and *legal* in their former ſenſe alſo, according to particular and *municipal* Laws.) But this, as it is a dangerous, ſo it is a falſe poſition. For the true ground of *Non-reſiſtance* of *ſubjects*, is firſt the the nature of *order*; and ſecondly the prohibition of Gods Ordinance.

Firſt, *Order* requires, that each keep his place, unleſs extraordinarily called by the *Author* of order, which is God himſelf, as *Ehud*, *Barak*, *Jahel*, and others were, in which

1. Judg. 3. chap. 4.

which case they were not *subjects*; as neither were the
Exod. 12. Israelites *thieves*, when they borrowed the goods of the *Egyptians* and restored them not; nor invaders of other
Josh. 4. mens inheritances in seizing upon the Land of *Canaan*; because in these cases they had the order of the *God* of order. Neither had *Abraham* been guilty if he had slain his son, as he was not *guilty* in intending it, for the same reason; but these are not for *imitation*. Now then, or-
Rom. 13. der natural is, That every soul be subject, and do not resist the higher powers, that is, those that are *higher* than he *in his own rank and place*, for that tends to the reproach of the *God* of order, and to the *confusion* of the whole body, if the members will not be ruled by the head, *whilst* a head. As when an Army will not be commanded by their superior Officers; or the inferior *Orbs* oppose themselves to the motion of the higher ones.

The second ground of non-resistance in *subjects* is *Gods Ordinance*, who hath so enjoyned, 'that every soul
Rom. 13. 'should be subject to the *higher* powers, so long as they 'are *higher*, and in possession of power by *right*, either 'from man or *God*, by special dispensation; those that by 'such dispensation are under them, are to be subject.
1 Pet. 2. 13. So the Apostle *Peter*, '*Submit* your selves to every Or-'dinance of *man* for the Lords sake, whether to the *King* 'as *Supreme*, &c. And, 'Put them in mind to be *subject*
Tit. 3. 1. 'to principalities and Powers. And this not onely to the *good* and *gentle*, or to those that command *just* things, and maintain Religion, Laws, and Liberties; but even to those that are *froward*, and that do afflict for well-doing. For
1 Pet. 2. 18, 19, 20. so the *Apostle*, speaking to *servants*, which by proportion holds unto subjects; both because every *Master* is a Magistrate, but especially because the ground of *non-resistance* here, is not the *lawful* power he had, neither as to the *obtaining* of it (for he might take his servant by *prædation*, pyracy, or other unlawful ways) nor the *lawfulness* of his *commands* (for the Apostle supposeth the Masters to be such as punish for *well-doing*) in which case, God did never give *direct* power to command, though

though he have given *indirect* power for the trial of his ſervants *faith* and patience. The Apoſtle, after he had required ſubjection to the *King*, and others under him, in every Ordinance and command, comes in the ſame chapter unto *ſervants* with the ſame precept, but with this further *explication*, which belongs to *both*, that this ſubjection ſhould be to the froward, that is, to the wicked, and for not doing things they commanded againſt God; for ſo the ſenſe muſt be alſo. The words are: 'If a 'man for conſcience toward God endure grief, ſuffer-'ing *wrongfully*. You ſee it is Gods Ordinance not to reſiſt, though he ſuffer wrongfully, that is, for things wherein there is no direct right to command; which is the ſame with that of our Saviour, '*Reſiſt* not evil, but 'whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on the right cheek (which 'ſure he hath no *right* to do) turn to him the other alſo. Which is to be underſtood eſpecially with reference unto *Superiors*, and comparatively, that is, rather than *reſiſt*. Plead a *ſubject* may, as *Paul* did, againſt oppreſſion of Magiſtrates, reſiſt he may not, becauſe God hath in ſo many places of his Word *ordained* otherwiſe; but leaſt of all by *arms*, and in a *publick* way. What caſes may fall out, wherein ſubjects may be no ſubjects, they are very rare, and are ſpoken to elſe-where in this Treatiſe; but are far from our caſe in this Nation, and ſo concern us not.

1 Pet. 2. 18, 19, 20. explained.

Matth. 5. 39. explained.

Act. 16. 37. chap. 22. 25.

SECT. IV.

A State, a Parliament, or inferior Magiſtrates.

THe fourth miſtake of the former Authors, is, that they diſtinguiſh in this queſtion betwixt a *Parliament*, or *State*, or inferior *Magiſtrates*, and *private* perſons; granting defence unto the one, though denyed unto the other, and ſo would avoid the *Scriptures* as well as *Reaſons* prohibition, not to reſiſt the *higher powers*. But firſt, they ſay, 'that a private perſon is not prohibited reſiſtance, 'but for want of ſtrength, ſo not for conſcience ſake;

a vile poſition. If the power in a *Parliament*, or *State*, or inferior *Magiſtrates*, be derived from a *Superior*, they have no power to uſe it againſt him, for it is *his*, and theirs onely by *conceſſion* from him; nor is it conferred on them, but with that intention for his ſervice, not his oppoſition. If they uſe it againſt him, it muſt be by ſome *other ſuperior power* that hath conferred other powers upon them (and that muſt be ſome viſible one too) for their very *eſſe* and *being*, *as ſuch*, a Parliament, State, or Magiſtracy, is wholly *dependent* from him, who conferred thoſe powers upon them. This for *Reaſon*. Then for the *Scripture* they would ſo elude, by ſaying, That it doth not forbid the *Senate* to reſiſt, if it did prohibit private perſons, becauſe neither *Paul* nor *Peter* wrote to them, not being Chriſtians. We muſt note, that the Apoſtle, forbidding *every ſoul* to reſiſt the *higher* powers, as being the *Ordinance* and *order* of *God*, *by* and *among* men, muſt mean according to the known practiſe of thoſe times, whether by *Law*, or *Cuſtom*, or *Will* of the Prince. Now if the *Law* did enable any to reſiſt, as the *Senate* or other, why then that is the higher power, for reſiſtance is by the *Sword*, and it is the higher power onely that bears the ſword; and ſo ſuch reſiſtance ſhould not be reſiſtance to, but an execution of the higher power. If the Laws formally or *really* gave no *power*; then, by this prohibition of the Apoſtle, they could not reſiſt, becauſe none might reſiſt the higher power. He ſpeaks *diſtributively*, *every ſoul*, that he might be underſtood the more *comprehenſively*, all together. And he ſpeaks *indefinitely*, without reſtraining or excepting, leſt any ſhould plead exemption. What the *Senate* did againſt that Prince, under whoſe government they were, when the Apoſtle wrote to the *Romans*, *viz. Nero*, by *proclaiming* him an enemy to the Common-wealth, *proſcribing* of him, and decreeing he ſhould be puniſhed *more majorum*: And what their power, or the foundation of it was, and what their caſe, is not much material for us to query; ſeeing the conſtitution, or at leaſt the practice of their State and ours, as they do, ſo they *ought* to differ, as much as Heatheniſm and Chriſtianity.

Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 2. explained.

Note.

ſtianity. And this for their fourth miſtake, in placing any difference betwixt *inferior Magiſtrates* and *private men*, in caſe of reſiſtance beyond the Laws, for in that reſpect they are but *private* men, as *genera & ſpecies ſubalterna reſpectu ſuperiorum*. But from the *Theſis* of States and inferior Magiſtrates in general, they come

SECT. V.

The co-ordinate power of the two Houſes in making Laws.

TO the *Hypotheſis*, and in particular, in reference unto the Government of *this Nation*. They ſay, That the *King* is not wholly *ſupreme*, becauſe as he hath 'a *negative* voice, ſo alſo each of the Houſes of Parliament, and that he cannot make, alter, or abrogate a 'Law of himſelf, but that they have a co-ordinate power 'with him.

Anſw. For anſwer. It were more for the perſonal advantage, and perhaps ſatisfaction of Kings, if there were *no Laws*, but that they govern'd after their own judgment. It is therefore of conceſſion, and a departing from their advantage to have Laws, and to limit themſelves by them, for the better ſatisfaction of their ſubjects. Now although it be truly affirm'd by a preſent and reverend Pen, That the juſtice of *ſucceſſion* is the onely right and proper foundation of Government; wherein he was foregone by him, who ſaith of ſucceſſion, * *Quod ſi cui leve videatur, ſciat eam rem tanti apud majores noſtros fuiſſe ponderis, ut non prius juſtum & legitimum Normannorum in Anglia imperium fuiſſe arbitrarentur, quam* Mathildis *David ſoror Henrico primo enupta regiam nobis ſobolem daret, ex antiqua regum Saxonicorum ſtirpe derivatam.* Which *Succeſſion* (ſaith mine Author) if it 'ſeem a ſmall matter to any man, he muſt know, that 'it was of ſo great weight with our Anceſtors, that they

Dr. *Sanderſon* L. Biſhop of *Lincoln.* Preface to B. *Uſher* of the right of Kings, *pag.* 4.

D. Hen Savilius præfat. ded. R. Jacob. prefix. operib. J. Chryſoſt. Gr.

'never thought that the Government of *William* the 'Conqueror, and the *Normans*, was *juſt* and *lawful*, un-
* *Abnepos.* 'til *Mathildis* the ſiſter of *David* (*grandchild to *Ethel-*
'*red* the Saxon King) being married to *Henry* the firſt,
'brought us forth a Royal ſeed, derived from the antient
'blood of the *Saxon* Kings. Yet why may we not think,
that ſome of our Princes originally might be as free as an-
other lately, who had no ſuch ſuch title either of *Succeſ-*
ſion or *Conqueſt*, profeſſeth himſelf to have been in points
Lord Protectors ſpeech *Septemb.* 12. *p.* 11. and *p.* 13. of Law and Government, untill he limited himſelf.
'I ſay (ſaith he) the *Authority* I had in my hand being
'ſo *boundleſs*. Again, my *power* again by this reſignation
'was *boundleſs* and *unlimited* as before. All things being
pag. 14. 'ſubject to Arbitrarineſs, and a perſon having *power*
'over *the three Nations, boundleſs and unlimited.* Again.
'The *Government* ——— *limited* me, and *bound my*
'*hands*, to act nothing to the prejudice of the Nations,
'without conſent of a Councel, until Parliament, and
'then limited by a Parliament I did accept it ——— I
'was *arbitrary* in power. May it not then have been in
Princes as it was in this *Uſurper* and invader of the pub-
lick Liberties. And indeed the *Coronation-Oath* ſeems to imply ſo much, wherein among other things the King is asked:
Coronation-Oath. [*H. ſcripſ.* 24. *Apr.* 61. *die Coronationis, caſu non conſilio, dum opus recognoſcerem.*]
'Sir, will you *grant* to hold and keep the Laws and rightful cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this Realm (*conſuetudines quas vulgus elegerit*,) whether you expound it, *have* (or *ſhall* chooſe.) Which words do not imply a *force* upon the *King*, but a *deſire* of his engagement. Therefore the *choice* of Laws being not the Princes, but the *Peoples advantage* and priviledge, is left unto them, not as implying a *co-ordinate power*, but a *conceſſion* of liberty, (*not now to be changed*, becauſe *eſtabliſhed both by Law and Oath*) yet ſo, that the
His Majeſties anſwer to the Remonſtrance of *May* 26. 1642. *pag.* 17. & 15.
It is for the eaſe of Princes, and ſatisfaction of Subjects, that that unlimited power given by God to Princes, is bounded in all places by Laws, with their own conſent. Dr. *Sanderſons* preface to Dr. *Uſher*, of the right of Kings, *pag.* 22.
King

King reſerves to himſelf the *power* of a *negative voice*, and of refuſing to paſs their *Elections* into Laws if he like them not. If it be ſaid, That the Houſes have the like negative voice; that's a miſtake, they have it in order the *one houſe to the other*, but not in order to the *King*, becauſe he doth not propound *Laws* unto them, (his *deſires* he may) but they to him. So that there is no ſuch thing as a *negative* voice in the Houſes about the Laws in order to the *King*, it is onely in reference of the one Houſe to the other. So that to ſpeak properly, according to the known practiſe of the *Parliament*, the two Houſes ſeem to have no co-ordinate ſhare in *making Laws*, but in *chooſing* things to be made Laws, the King onely making of them; for the Houſes acknowledge, 'That they are *not Laws* till the Royal aſſent. But I may not correct the King, who ſaith: 'In this *Kingdom* 'the Laws are joyntly made, by a *King*, by a Houſe of 'Peers, and by a Houſe of *Commons* choſen by the people all having *free votes*, and *particular privileges*: Nor do I, but explain what he muſt intend. The *making* of the *matter* of the Laws belongs to the *two Houſes*; the conferring of the *form*, and giving them the *eſſe* and being of *Laws*, is from the *King* onely, and ſo *acknowledged* by the Houſes, *viz. That if he do deny, it is no Law without him*; and ſo acknowledged by the greateſt pleaders for the taking up of Arms. But ſecondly, becauſe his Majeſty ſaith a little after, 'We conjure you —— that 'you allow us —— our *ſhare* in the *Legiſlative* power, 'which would be counted in us, not onely a breach of 'priviledge, but Tyranny and ſubverſion of Parliaments, 'to deny you. Which implies the other have a *ſhare* alſo. I anſwer, That they have a ſhare, but *derivative*, not *original*, *ſubordinate* as ſubjects even in Parliament, (for ſo they call themſelves) not *co-ordinate* as equals. The wife hath a ſhare in the government of the family, for ſure ſhe is more in point of *right* relating to the government of it, than a ſervant; but it is not a *co-ordinate* but ſubordinate power. The King would not be underſtood

Negative voice.

Object.

Anſw.

Declar. Parl.

Object.

Kings anſw. to the 19 propoſit. p. 12.

Anſw.

Declar. Parl. in defence of that, *May* 26. 1642.

Script. Reaſ. ſect. 5. p. 64.

Kings anſw. to 19 Propoſit. p. 19.

to confute his Father, Himſelf, or the Laws. Not his *Father*, who ſaith: 'That the King is *above the Law*, 'as both the *Author* and *giver* of *ſtrength* thereto. Not *Himſelf*, who hath ſeveral times avowed his *Soveraignty*, though not his ſolitude; his *Supremacy*, though not his aloneneſs in government; who at the time of publiſhing that anſwer, had drawn his ſword to vindicate his Sovereinty & prerogative. Nor was it his intent to confute the *Law*, which maketh him the *fountain* of juſtice, as we ſaw above; & therfore what waters of *power* any elſe have, muſt needs flow originally from him. Thirdly, the *King* hath ſaid, he is no *Lawyer*, neither is it neceſſary that he ſhould ſo be; if then his *Majeſty* out of zeal to content his ſubjects, ſhould let fal any *expreſſion in that anſwer of his ſo much inſiſted on, that might prejudice his *legal* right, it ought not in *duty*, as it cannot in *conſcience*, be improved againſt him, contrary to the known practiſe of Laws and Parliament. It is true, the two Houſes ſay in their declaration of *November* 2. 1642. 'That the Kings Soverignty is in 'and *with* the two Houſes. That they are the ſupreme 'Court, whoſe determinations ought not to be queſtion'd 'by the King. That the Kings power is a truſt from the 'people. That the two Houſes may diſpoſe of any thing, 'of the King or Kingdoms. But ſeeing no Law is produc'd, a ſentence of out *Fleta*, above anſwered, is not ſufficient to bottom, in my conſcience, ſo high aſſertions. To conclude, All that have *ſhare* in *Legiſlative* power, have it not *equally*, the King is acknowledged by the Oath of *Supremacy*, ſworn by every Parliament man before he ſit, to be *Supreme over all* in theſe his Dominions. Neither have they it *originally*, but by *conceſſion* and grant, though now *fetledly*. But though they have this derivative power in *Legiſlation*, and in *ſome caſes* in *declaring* Law, ſo it be not againſt the *known* Lavvs; yet have they none in *execution* of the Lavvs, much leſs the povver of the *Sword*, further then the King ſhall grant unto them: For vvhich, though *Laws* vvere ſpoken of, yet vvere they never produc'd. Though the King declare,

K. *James's* Law of Free Monarchies.

* To the 19 Propoſitions.

clare, 'That there is no power in *either* or *both Houſes*, 'upon *any pretence whatſoever*, without our conſent, '(ſaith he) to raiſe any part of the *Militia* of this 'Kingdom. Nor hath the like been ever commanded by 'either or both Houſes, ſince the firſt *foundation* of the 'Laws of this Land. And though he produce * *Acts of Parliament* for his power, as 7 *Edw.* 2. and *divers* others, together with the *known practiſe* of the Nation.

Kings Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes, in anſwer to his Majeſties laſt Meſſage concerning the Militia. *p.* 10. * Proclamation of *Jun.* 18. 1642.

SECT. VI.

No means of Preſervation.

Sixthly, they object, If no reſiſtance be permitted to a State, Senate, or inferior Magiſtracy, 'then is 'there *no means* left of *preſervation* oftentimes, which 'is againſt the Law of *Nature*, when force is offered, 'for that teaches and allows, *vim vi repellere*, to reſiſt 'force by force. But this rule is applicable to *particular* perſons, (and ſo indeed admitted by theſe Authors) and to *private* men; *ſelf-preſervation* from violence, is as much granted by the Law of nature to them of *right*, as to a State, Senate, or Inferior Magiſtrates. And what a gap is this to all diſorder, if the *bellua multorum capitum* ſhould find this to be its ſtrength?

Anſw. 1.

2. Again, *Id poſſumus quod jure poſſumus*, if God and the Laws deny us help, we have onely *Nazianzen's* way of victory left, Ἔστι ἐμοὶ πρὸς πάντα φάρμακα μία δόσις εἰς νίκην ——— τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ θάνατον. *i.e.* 'I 'have one medicine againſt all maladies, one way to ob-'tain victory, *viz.* to die for Chriſt; which he ſpake, 'when in the time of *Julian's* perſecution, the Chriſti-'ans were more in number, and ſtronger of hand than 'the Heathens. Our Saviour could have prayed for twelve Legions of Angels, but he had no means to ſave himſelf from ruine. Neither had the *ten Tribes*, when *Jeroboam* and others oppreſſed them; for the means of reſiſtance

2. *Naz. Orat.* 1.

Duplies of the profeſs. of *Aberdeen* to the Br. Anſw. *dupl.* 2. *n.* 12. Matth. 26.

reſiſtance which they uſed proved at all no remedy; nor
2 King. 16. had the *Kingdom* of *Juda*, when mancipated and made ſubject by *Ahaz* unto the King of *Aſſyria*, which it ſeems God owned; for afterward when his Succeſſor,
2 King. 18. and the poſterity of that generation, *rebelled* under *Hezekiah*, they ſmarted for it, and *confeſs'd* it; though afterward, upon a barbarous demand, they had a juſt cauſe of defence againſt him. All *conveniencies* have their inconveniencies. In a *free Monarchy*, there is more *ſafety*,
Matth. 19. but there is danger of ſome *oppreſſions*. 'If the caſe be ſo
Object. 'with the husband and wife, it is not good to marry,
Reſp. and better in a *free ſtate*. Firſt, *capiat qui capere poteſt*, thoſe who are free may do ſo; but we are obliged even
24 H. 8. c. 12. by *natural* birth-right to this *ſubjection*, as the Act of Parliament ſaith, and to the *Laws* of a *free Monarchy*.
Hom. Ia. B. *Ariſt. Eth. l.* 8. *c.* 12. *Plat. de Regno. Plutarch. de unius in Rep. Domin. Tom.* 2. But ſecondly, I ſay with *Homer*, *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and other Antients, and Modern, yea, and with *God* himſelf, (who never govern'd his people any other way, not by *Ariſtocracy*, or a *popular State*, but by ſome *One*, either temporary, as the *Judges* were, or permanent, who according to the Laws exerciſed *ſole* government, even *Samuel* himſelf) that 'tis both the greateſt *ſafety*, as well as the greateſt *Honor*, not onely to a *Church*, but
Iſa. 49. alſo to a *Common-wealth*, that *Kings* ſhould be its *nurſing fathers, and Queens its nurſing mothers*. *Quod enim*
Plin. Panegyr. Trajan. d. ſt. à principio. *præſtabilius eſt, aut pulchrius munus deorum, quàm caſtus & ſanctus & diis ſimillimus princeps.* 'For what, 'ſaith mine author, can be a more *profitable* or *honourable*
Note. 'gift from heaven, than a moderate, religious, and *God-*'*like Prince*, &c. But of this elſe-where. But to be ſure, after God did eſtabliſh a ſetled government among his people, it was that of a *Monarchy*, and that a *free one*
* *ut humana gubernatio divinæ quàm ſimillima ſit. Ficin. Arg. in Plat. de Regno.* 3. too, as * coming neareſt to the image of his own government. Laſtly, It is very rare, if at all truly to be exemplified (except perhaps in *Caligula* or *Nero*) that a Prince will endeavour the ruine of the *Common-wealth*; of the *Government* indeed he may, but not of the Common-wealth; for then, over what ſhall he reign, and whom

ſhall

ſhall he govern? King *John* would have ſubjected the Kingdom to the Pope, as *Ahaz* did his unto the King of *Aſſyria*; but both of them thought they did it to preſerve, not onely their own intereſt, but alſo their Kingdoms, which they conceived would be in peril to be ruined elſe. This for their *ſixth* miſtake. King *John*. 2 King. 16.

SECT. VII.

This will tempt Princes to become Tyrants.

I Come now to the laſt, *viz.* 'That if Kings do know 'their ſubjects are ſo principled, as not to dare in 'conſcience to *reſiſt*; no, nor the State or Parliament, 'it will open a *wide gap to Tyranny* and all oppreſſion. But firſt, it is certain, that *God* ſet up this Government as beſt among his own people, to whom he gave no power of reſiſtance, and the Princes knew the people ſo to be principled; ſurely the Lord foreſaw a greater miſchief in any other government than this hazard. Again, The *Roman* Emperors did know, that the Chriſtians were principled not to reſiſt, both by the Scriptures, and their profeſſion and practiſe; inſomuch that *Julian* jeers them for it, and ſays, they muſt *turn the other ear*. Yet *Chriſt*, who gave this precept, and the *Apoſtles*, who alſo exemplified it, did foreſee what ill uſe might be made of it, but not ſo bad as of the contrary, *viz.* the permiſſion of reſiſtance. Thirdly, Some Princes that knew their abſoluteneſs, and profeſſed it in reference to accomptableneſs unto their ſubjects; yet have profeſſed, and generally practiſed the obligation of themſelves unto the the Laws. King *James* for example; 'Their obedience '(the ſubjects) I ſay (ſaith he) ought to be to him (their 'lawful King) as to *Gods Lieutenant* in earth —— 'acknowledging him a Judge ſet by *God* over them, 'having power to judge *them*, but to *be* judged onely by 'God, whom to *onely* he muſt give count of his judgment

Anſw. 1.

2.

Juſtin. Mart. Apol. 2. *Tertul. Apologetic.*

3.

Law of Free Monarchies, *Edit. Lond.* 1616. *pag.* 200, 201.

ment ——— following and obeying his lawful com-
'mands, eſchewing and flying his fury in his unlawful,
'without *reſiſtance*, but by ſobs and tears to God, &c.

Law of Free Monarch. But yet in the ſame work he ſaith, 'Albeit I have at
'length proved, that the *King is above the Law*, as both
'the *Author* and giver of ſtrength thereunto; yet a good
'King will not onely delight to *rule* his ſubjects by the
'*Law*, but even will conform *himſelf* in his own actions
'thereunto, &c. So this Prince. And why ſhould we think, that the Author of ſuch power, putting this conſideration into the heart of him, doth not the ſame to others alſo, where he ſeeth good?

4. A *fourth* anſwer to the objection ſome would give from the practiſe of Princes themſelves, both Antient and Modern, who might ſeem by aſſiſtance to ſubjects to have thereby declared, that though ſubjects may not reſiſt, yet may they *call for help* of other *Princes*, as the caſe may ſtand. And that the reaſon of the *difference* is, that in calling for aid to other Princes no *order* is broken, being thoſe powers are *co-ordinate*, though not in the ſame dominions, and not *ſubjects*. And that one end and uſe of the power of Princes is, that beſides the protection of their own people, they might be the Lord's Captain for the relief of other of his people, and hath ſo in all ages been put in practice, though ſometime with not ſo deſirable ſucceſs; *cauſes*, and *carriages*, and divine *Providence* ſwaying otherwiſe. But becauſe this anſwer doth neceſſarily imply the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance, indirectly, and by conſequence, for they are obliged to aſſiſt ſuch help, therefore I ſhall not reſt upon it: but add to the former replies another anſwer, *viz.* That he who hath eſtabliſhed theſe bounds to

5. Exod. 19. the *Mount*, that the *people* break not through, doth alſo by his providence ſo rule the *hearts* of Princes, which he

Prov. 21. 1. 'hath in his hands as *the rivers of water*, to turn them as
'it pleaſeth him, that the *thunder* and *lightning* ſhall not break out upon an obedient people; or if it do, it

Rom. 8. ſhall *work together for their good*, even the trial of their

1 Pet. 1. *faith and patience*, that they may be found for *praiſe*, and honor,

honor, and glory, at the appearing of *Jesus Christ*. Let no man therefore say, this is a putting the sword into the hand of Princes to destroy their people, for then so did *Peter*, even in those times when Masters had power of *life* and *death*; yet he bids them not to *resist*, no not for *conscience*-sake, though they were afflicted for *well-doing*. He saith indeed afterward, Who will harm you, if *you follow that which is good*? Parallel to that of *Paul*, *He is the Minister of God for good unto thee*; that is, by *institution*: but if he prove otherwise, yet he is Gods Minister to try our graces, to correct our vices. We should believe God will stand by his own Ordinance in *publick*, as he doth in those *private* ones betwixt *wife* and *husband*, betwixt *servant* and *master*, so betwixt *subject* and *Soveraign*, though he suffer oppressions for just causes in all. 6. And further, as none of the pleaders for resistance would have their own *subjects*, *wives* or *servants*, do it to themselves by force, unless in some *personal acts* of *violence*, to restrain them at the present from some sudden attempt, so neither ought they admit it in themselves unto their superiors. 7. And lastly, the contrary being known unto *subjects*, will open a more wide gap to *sedition* and *rebellion*, by how much less wisdom, and more temptations and inclination they have to change than *Princes*; 'tis *mobile vulgus*. I conclude this with that Tetrastich, touching the Legion of *6666* Soldiers, that without resistance suffered:

1 Pet. 2.

Paul expounded by *Peter*.

Venant. Fortunat. Carminum. lib. 2. Carm. 15. Biblioth. patr. To. 6. edit. 1618. part. 2.

Quos positis gladiis, armaret dogmata Pauli,
Nomine pro Christi *dulcius esse mori.*
Pectore belligero poterant qui vincere ferro,
Invitant jugulis vulnera chara suis.

Rejecting *swords*, arms of St. *Paul* they take,
That *sweet it is to die for Jesus sake.*
And they who might by *force* have overcome,
Invite unto their throats the Tyrants doom.

Prov. 9. 1. Wiſdom heweth her ſelf out *ſeven* pillars, ſo hath her oppoſite, which being ruined, the fabrick wholly ſinks; * *this*, and ſuch books I mean, which run chiefly on the former reaſonings.

* *Script. & Reaſ. for defenſive Arms.*

Sect. VII.

Of obedience to Uſurped Powers.

And now for concluſion of this *firſt* part of the *civil* controverſie, theſe *Cautions* may be noted. Firſt, That our diſpute concerning the war being ſuch as hath been ſhewed, doth not impede, but that we may under even an *illegal power* be inſtrumental for the prevention of *publick ruine*, and for the preſervation of the *beeing* of a Nation: *provided* that he do it without all *engagement* or real efficacy to the upholding of the uſurpation. The reaſon is, that *ſuch things the lawful Magiſtrate ought, were he in place, to do; and is preſumed in reaſon willing to have them done.* Such as are, 1 the preſervation of *Religion*, 2 execution of *Juſtice* according to Law, 3 ſuppreſſion of *Tumults* againſt Law, 4 and oppoſition of forreign *enemies*, *properly* ſo called. Although for my ſelf, I have not acted, though impowered, in any of them, that I know of, except appearing once to underſtand the matter, when in effect I did declare againſt it, and never appeared after. Again, it impedeth not (under correction) but that unto *irregular* powers may be yielded ſuch impoſitions, as the *denial* whereof would bring apparent ruine, and the *ſolution* whereof no way recognize the authority exacting. Such, I ſuppoſe, was the obedience, that *Jehoiadah* and other loyal ſubjects to the King, rendred unto *Athaliah*, during thoſe *ſix* years of her uſurpation; and of ſome of *David*'s friends, in the time of *Abſalom*'s rebellion.

Cautions concerning the premiſes.

1. What may be done under *illegal* power.

2. What may be ſuffered.

2 King. 11.

2 Sam. 15.

And

And thus I have rendred an account of the motives of my *acceſs* and *receſs* to, and from the *civil* Controverſie. I ſhall conclude it, with that place out of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, wherewith I was ſo much affected; 'tis this: 'Though God doth oftentimes 'proſper *juſt* and *lawful enemies*, which be no *SUB-* 'JECTS, againſt their *forreign* enemies, yet he did 'NEVER LONG proſper ſubjects againſt their 'PRINCE, were they never ſo *great* in *AUTHORI-* 'TY, or ſo *many* in *NUMBER*.

The concluſion of the firſt Argument.

Homil. of diſobed. part 4. p. m. 300. Note.

The End of the Firſt BOOK.

RETRACTATIONS AND REPENTINGS.

The Second Book.

Of the Church Controverſie.

CHAP. I.

of Independency.

SECT. I.

The occaſion of the Authors Lapſe into it.

AS touching the other Controverſie, *viz.* about *Church-Government*, and my prolapſing into *Independency*, the *Occaſion* was one, the *Motives* another. The *Occaſion* was, that being by means of the former actings conſtrained, as I thought, to leave the place of my *employment*, remaining 1. The occaſion. *Cambr.*

London. ing *idle* (upon the matter) in that, *then*, (*ſentina malorum*) *common-ſhore* of corrupt opinions, I fell into that ſnare.

Prov. 27. 8. Often ſince reflecting on that of *Solomon*, 'as a *bird* that 'wandreth from her *neſt*, ſo is a man that wandreth from 'his *place*, obnoxious to every ſnare of the fouler, to every bolt of the ſhooter. I have known ſeveral formidable examples in the *Miniſtery* of thoſe, who, not without very probable grounds, and weighty *advice*, have receded from their places; provided, *that they could eat their bread in them* (though perhaps but courſe) or not *over-powered* with other temptations or diſtractions. Conſiderable are the words of *Calvin* to this purpoſe,

In Epiſt. ad Philip. cap. 2. 31. *Ita reſpicienda eſt* vocatio *tua ut ab omnibus avocamentis ſenſus tuos omnes avertas. Licet alibi opulentiùs vivere: At Deus te alligavit Eccleſiæ, qua tenuitur modò te alat. Alibi plus honoris; ſed eum tibi locum attribuit Deus, in quo humiliter vivas. Alibi ſalubrius cœlum, aut amœnior Regio, ſed hîc tibi ſtatio ordinata eſt. Optares tibi cum humaniore populo eſſe negotium: offendit te vel ingratitudo, vel ferocitas, vel ſuperbia: denig, cum genio & moribus Gentis minimè convenit. At qui luctandum eſt tibi tecum, & vis quodammodo contrariis votis eſt afferenda, ut* ſpartam *quam nactus es, colas.* Which paſſage truly, I left un-Engliſhed; but remembring it may do ſome good unto the * *weaker ſex*, 'tis this. 'Thou art ſo 'to obſerve where God hath *called* thee, that thou muſt 'ſhut thine eyes from all enticements thence. Elſewhere 'thou maiſt live more *plentifully*, but God hath bound 'thee to a Pariſh, which will but keep thee ſparingly. 'There is more *credit* to be had elſe where; but God 'hath aſſigned thee a place, where thou muſt live ob'ſcurely. The *aire* is better at ſuch a place, and the 'Country far more *pleaſant*; but here thou art appointed 'Sentinel. Thou couldſt wiſh thou hadſt to deal with a 'better natur'd people; thou art troubled at their ingra'titude, at their rudeneſs, at their pride and inſolency; 'in a word, thou canſt not away with the ſpirit and diſ'poſition of the people. But thou muſt wraſtle with thy 'ſelf,

* The Wives of Miniſters.

'ſelf, and offer a kind of force to all oppoſite affections, 'that ſo thou maiſt adorn that *Spouſe* to which thou art 'engaged. Thus far there. But the ſauce is not all Vine-ger. He therefore adds in the ſame place. *Eatenus concedendum eſt Eccleſiæ miniſtris ſua quærere; ut non impediantur à quærendo Chriſti Regno: ſed hoc modo, jam non dicentur ſua quærere, quoniam à præcipuo ſcopo æſtimatur vita hominis.* Thus far (ſaith 'he) it muſt be granted unto Miniſters to ſeek their own, 'ſo as they may not be hindred from ſeeking the King-'dom of Chriſt. But on this account, they are not now 'to be ſaid to ſeek their own, becauſe we are to judge of 'a mans way by the ſcope and end he aimes at. Thus he. And the Council of *Nice* hath this *Canon. Ne de civitate inferiori ad majorem Eccleſiam tranſire quis ambiat, ſive Epiſcopus, ſive etiam alius Clericus.* 'That no man, 'be he *Biſhop* or other *Clergy-man*, ſhould *endeavour* 'to go from a meaner to a *greater* place or people. And there is reaſon for it, ſeeing it is ſeldom that he can *ſine magno ſuo & Eccleſiæ incommodo gregem ſibi concreditum relinquere, ac non ſine Epiſcopalis dignitatis diminutione*: 'Leave the flock entruſted to him, without great 'inconvenience both to himſelf and them, and without 'diſgrace to his miniſterial function, as the Council of *Trent* hath it. But to return. God hath promiſed to keep us in all *our ways*, whilſt we are in our way, we are under protection. Now, as was implyed above, this de-gree of ſpiritual fornication, is occaſioned ſometime as the other was in *David*. *Deſidoſus erat.*

Idem. ibid.

Conc. Nice Can. 16.

Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 3. *ſub Jul.* 3. *Can.* 5.

Pſal. 92.

2 Sam. 11. 1, 2.

The hand, *that is not buſie, will*
Object the head *to wandring ſtill.*

This for the occaſion of my Lapſe.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Cauſes Privative.

BUt the *Cauſes* were, as in the former Controverſie, partly *general* and *privative*, partly *poſitive* and *particular*. The *general* was, that, as I had in the *former*, through zeal without knowledge reſiſted the *Spirit* of God, ſo I committed here the ſame error upon the ſame grounds, againſt the *Word* of God. For why may I not call it the *Word* of God, which was *firſt* in it ſelf a *truth*, and that one of main concernment; and *then* ſpoken, when I was leaving my relation, and, as it were, at Farewell (when words uſe to be of moſt weight) and *laſtly* uttered by * one, whoſe place was in ſolemn manner to declare it. Although his perſon ſhould have been as bad as his; who propheſied, being the * High-prieſt. It was this, *viz.* An Admonition *to adhere unto the Church of England, without turnig unto the right-hand or unto the left.* To which moſt Sovereign counſel, if the *Author*'s ſelf, did not in all things correſpond (as ſome have publiſhed) he had therein, no ſervant of me; and yet he did confer upon me no common favours. By vertue whereof I enjoyed the benefit of the beſt part of my education, and preparation for the Miniſtery. Unto whom, living or dead, I have not return'd evil willingly. But on the contrary, being ſollicited, and that with ſome kind of intermination, to be, and afterward cited, as a *witneſs* againſt him, I appeared not. When the Lord *Cromwel* in *Henry* the eighth's time, was glanced at by one, for having been ſervant unto *Cardinal Wolſey*, he not onely did acknowledge it, but profeſſed alſo his grateful memory of the benefits he received from him. Becauſe his Lordſhip may have with ſome, though not meriting, the like reſentment with the Cardinal. This for the occaſion and cauſe privative.

Dr. *Laud* Arch-biſh. of *Cant.* my honourable Lord and Maſter.

* Joh. 11. 51.

Fox Acts & Mon. in the life of *Cromwel*

SECT.

SECT. III.

Cauſes Poſitive.

THe Cauſes *Poſitive*. Firſt, I took offence at ſome things in the *Church*, in the *Aſſemblies*, the *Worſhip*, and the *Diſcipline*; neither perceiving the *beam in my own eye*, nor the beauty of that Spouſe, that ſeemed *black*, but was comely in the eye of Chriſt; no, nor the deformity of the *Concubine*, that was but painted over. An *adulterous* ſpirit ſees beauty in any, but his *own* wife. 1. Of Receſs from the Church. Cant. 1. 4, 14.

Next, I was taken (not undeſervedly) with the good gifts and preaching that I perceived in certain of the *Independent* way. And I did not well apply then, what I had ſometime done, *viz.* 'To mark thoſe that cauſed 'divi*ſions* and offences, contrary to the doctrines which 'I had received, and avoid them; becauſe they that are 'ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own 'bellies; and with *ſweet preaching* (ſo Mr. *Tindal*) and 'flattering words, deceive the hearts of the *Innocents*. But the main was, a love to that *beauty of holineſs*, in Order and Ordinances, which they predicated and ſpake ſo much of. Now, *Quis non his pollicitationibus non allice-retur, præſertim adoleſcentis animus cupidus veri.* 'Who 'would not have been inveigled with theſe promiſes, 'eſpecially the mind of a young man thirſty for truth? As *Auſtin* once of himſelf, in refeference unto the *Manichees*. 2. Of Acceſs unto Independency. Rom. 16. 17. *Aug. de utilit. cred. cap.* 1.

SECT. IV.

Of the Contents of Independency, and in particular of the ſecond and third of them, viz. congregation, *and* non ſubjection.

The Ingredients of Indep. collegible out of the *Apologetic. Narration* of the 5. Br.

But to come neerer, and to particulars. There are three things in *Independency* eſpecially. Firſt, *ſeparation, viz.* from full and conſtant fellowſhip and communion with the Parochial Aſſemblies. Secondly, *Congregation*, or collecting and conſtituting themſelves into another body. Laſtly, *Independency* and aſſuming or uſurping of *intire Eccleſiaſtical power* into that body, ſo as to be *judicially* and of *right*, ſubject unto none other; which is the *eſſe* and τὸ εἶδος of Independency. Of the two latter (*viz. Congregation* and *non ſubjection*) I ſhall ſpeak here, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion of much more large Diſcourſe about the former, namely, *ſeparation*. And now for the *fact*, and that they do ſo *congregate*, that is viſible; for they do by a certain *covenant* conſtitute themſelves into a diſtinct body. And that they arrogate an *Independency* alſo, although in words they reject the name, ſaying, *That proud and inſolent title of Independency was affixed unto us:* yet in as much as they do *in terminis* affirm; *firſt*, that any other particular Church

Apologet. Narrat. pag. 23.

pag. 19. 'hath *only* power to *declare non communion* with an offending Church. *Secondly*, that a Claſſis or *combination of Churches* have no *juridical* power over any

pag. 15. pag. 17. 'particular one. *Thirdly*, that the *Magiſtrates* power, 'is of another nature, though of uſe over the Church; 'doth it not follow (They alſo rightly denying a Catholick viſible Church) unavoidably, that as a *Church*, and as to *Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction* they depend on none, and therefore are *Independent*. That therefore ſuch they are, as to *congregating* and *Independing*, is beyond

yond all contradiction. Now then for the *Men*, and their grounds why they are ſo, to ſhew the inſufficiency of them, or which is all one, that they ought not ſo to do, is the next thing to be evidenced. And 'tis not ſo hard, nor needs ſo long a proof, if we conſider their *own* grounds already yeilded, and the *unlawfulneſs of ſeparation*, which ſhall, the Lord aſſiſting, be cleared in the conſequent, and which themſelves alſo ſeem to *damn*.

'For we had likewiſe the fatal miſcarriages and ſhip-'w a ks of the *ſeparation* (ſay they) as Land-marks to 'forewarn us of thoſe rocks and ſhelves they ran upon. And would God it had done it, for the Independents have ſplit upon the very ſame diviſions. *Firſt*, then for their *conceſſions*. *Apologetic. Narrat.* pag. 5.

'If it be true, that all that conſcience of the *defile-* 1.
'*ments* (ſay they) we conceived to cleave to the true pag. 6.
'worſhip of God in them; or of the *unwarranted power* Conceſſions
'in Church Governours exerciſed therein, did never work of Indepen-
'in us any other thought, much leſs opinion, but that dents againſt
'*multitudes* of the Aſſemblies and *Parochial* Congrega- Independen-
'tions thereof, were *the true Churches and body of Chriſt*, cy.
'*and the Miniſtry thereof a true Miniſtry*. Then doubt-leſs, firſt, their *habitual* ſeparation from ſuch, (though in *ſome acts rarely* they did communicate with ſome of them) was *ipſo facto* unlawful, and a *Schiſme* evident. This, the *foundation* falling, their ſuperſtructure of congregating into a body, and binding themſelves to *that ſociety* (which implies a *conſtant renunciation* of the former Churches) is as *drunkenneſs* to *thirſt*; and their arrogating of a ſelf-ſufficient and *independent* power, is as the faſtening their iniquity with *cords* of vanity. So that there ſeems no more needful for this place, then that *ex ore tuo ſerve nequam*, "out of thy own mouth Matth. 25.
'thou ſhalt be judged. Doſt thou confeſs, that notwith-
'ſtanding any defilements in the *worſhip*, any uſurpation 1.
'in the *Church-Governours*, any **mixture* in the Con- 2.
'gregations, that yet multitudes of them were the true pag. 6.
'Churches and body of Chriſt: and wilt thou ſeparate 3.

'thy ſelf conſtantly, and draw *others* from the *true body*
Joh. 15. 'of Chriſt? Are not the branches, when broken off from
'the true Vine, cut off from the * juice, ſap, and life of
'the tree? muſt they not needs *wither*, and in the end be
'gathered to be burned? I end this with that knock of the
'Hammer of this *headleſs* Schiſm, (for they are *Independent*) St. *Auſtin*, *Hoc ergo Tichonius cùm vehementer copioſeq; diſſereret, & ora contradicentium multis & magnis ac manifeſtis ſanctarum ſcripturarum teſtimoniis oppilaret; non vidit, quod conſequenter videndum fuit: ——Parmenianus autem ceteriq; Donatiſtæ, viderunt hoc eſſe conſequens, & mallerunt ſuſcipere obſtinatiſſimum animum adverſus apertiſſimam veritatem —— quam eâ conceſsâ ſuperari ab* Africanus *Eccleſiis.* 'This (that the
'Church was not in *Africk* onely, but diffuſed through
'the whole world) when as *Tichonius* had earneſtly and
'copiouſly diſcourſed; and, by many, weighty and evi-
'dent arguments of the holy Scriptures, ſtopt the mouthes
'of the gain-ſayers: yet did not ſee, that which by *conſe-*
'*quence* did clearly follow. On the other ſide, *Parme-*
'*nian* and the reſt of the *Donatiſts* (the ſeparation) ſaw
'the conſequence, and would rather aſſume a moſt ſtub-
'born reſolution againſt manifeſt truth, than by yielding
'to it, be overcome of the *African* (I may add in refe-
'rence to thoſe we ſpeak of, the *Engliſh*) Churches.

* *Quicquid à matrice diſceſſerit, ſeorſim vivere & ſpirare non poterit, ſubſtantian ſalutis amittit.* Cypr. de Simplic. prolator. p. edit. Eraſm. 1520. 173. Aug. contr. Ep. Parm. l. 1. c. 1.

Independents.

1. their Inconſiderateneſs.

2. Or their Obſtinacy.

2. What kind of Independency is here condemned.

But ſecondly, toward ſatisfaction unto others, if not to them, I muſt explain my ſelf. All *Independency* of Churches is not denyed. For then we muſt condemn the *Church of England*, and other reformed, who do not act, as acknowledging any *ſuperior* body, on whom they do depend. But according to the confeſſion of *this Church*,

Artic. 34. 'every *particular* or *National Church*, hath *authority* to
'ordain, change, and aboliſh Ceremonies, or rites of the
'Church, ordain'd onely by mans authority; ſo that all
'things be done to edifying. So *Article* 57 The Queens
'Majeſty hath the chief power, —unto whom the chief
'government of all eſtates of of this Realm —in all
'cauſes doth appertain, and ought not to be ſubject to any
foreign

foreign juriſdiction. It ſpeaks of cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*. Which kind of *Independency* I have elſewhere ſufficiently, if I miſtake not, vindicated. But the *Independency* here oppoſed, is that; whereby Chriſtians being before incorporated as members into Congregations (ſuch as themſelves alſo acknowledged to be true Chriſtian Churches and bodies of *Chriſt*) do rend off themſelves, and incorporate into new ones of their own, for the moſt part ſmall and inconſiderable. For the detecting further of which error, we are to note one or two particulars. First, we muſt diſtinguiſh between the *original* ſtate of a Church, as it might be at its firſt collection, and the *after-condition* of it, and *preſent* being. When it was firſt gathered it might be free, as was the family of *Jethro*; but not ſo afterward, when incorporated with another Church. All the ſeveral *Heptarchies* in this Nation, and many Provinces elſe-where, were once free and *Independent*; doth it follow they muſt be ſo ſtill, or rend themſelves from the Kingdom, if they could, to be ſo again? By this, the 120 names that were the Church in the beginning, ſhould ſtill have aſſumed their firſt liberty. For we muſt note, that Eccleſiaſtical power, is as well *diſſeajable* as civil, and may be loſt (ſo, as it is not lawful to reſume it) and that not only by a voluntary conceſſion, or providential falling in with other Chriſtians, or Churches; but even by *force* alſo. As if by publick Edict, two or more Churches ſhould be conſtrained to unite into one. As in *England*, all the Chriſtians in one *Pariſh* are made members of *that* Church; and all the Pariſhes of that *Dioceſs* one Dioceſan Church; and all the Dioceſan Churches one *Metropolitical*; from whence they are aggregated, yea, incorporated into one *National* Church. Now being thus joyned together by God and good order, it is not lawful for themſelves again to put aſſunder. This is one of their *fundamental* errors, to fancy a reducement of the Churches to their *firſt infancy*. Why attempt they not the ſame in civil Societies, Common-Wealths, and Kingdoms, yea, and families alſo?

Vindiciæ Catholicæ, or the Rights of particular Chriſtian Churches aſſerted.

Eccleſiaſtical power may be loſt.

Numb. 10.

Act. 1.

A fundamental error of Independency.

so? there is the like *reason*, *rule*, and *example*, for the one as for the other. And so this flabel of *Schism* in the Church, shall also be the bellows of *Sedition* in the Common-wealth. For if *Ecclesiastical* original right of liberty and independency cannot be taken away, neither can *Civil*; and then the with-holding it is but *usurpation*, *no title*; and then, as there must be *no Bishop*, so *no*, &c. King *James* his inference. To conclude, Look what right the *ten Tribes* of *Israel* had to *separate* from the Church of their brethren, and to *congregate* and incorporate into one of their own, and to make themselves *Independent* from any other; the same have these Brethren. Neither do they seem to have any better, if so good, for there was an *appearing* divine approbation of their recess from the Kingdom of *Judah*, and their own reason prompted them to think, that this must imply a withdrawing from the Church also. Now that they became Idolaters, first, that was accidental. Again, they went not so far, as utterly to *non-Church* themselves, for God did still acknowledge them *for his people*. Thirdly, the occasion of their separation seems to be more just from the Church than the Common-wealth, for by *Solomon's* apostacy it was fill'd with all manner of Idolatries. Lastly, some of those that have begun at Independency, have proceeded as far *in re* and deed, if not farther than they. For they have apostatized from all communion with our Churches, or any Reformed; from thence to *Anabaptism*; from that to *Quaking*; and so not onely *denying the Lord* that bought them, as the Apostle speaks, but also the whole Scripture, and are become *worse*, some of them, than *Infidels* and Idolaters, even plain *Atheists*. Whereof perhaps some instances and examples of this kind might be given, if it were requisite to name places and persons. By which things, and through their horrid *shipwracks* by *sub-divisions*, providence asketh the question now, as it did once in another case of *Apostacy* from the Church, and their unsuccessfulness thereupon; *Jer.* 2. 17. 'Hast thou not procured this unto thy self,

'in

The strange consequences of it.

Conference at Hamp. Court, pag. 82.

1 King. 12.

Ezek 16.

1 King. 11. and 12.

Jude vers. 5.

'in that thou haſt forſaken the Lord? And, 'Is it not 'of the Lord, that the people weary themſelves in the 'fire for *very vanity*? And in them is fulfilled that; 'They bite and devour one another, till they be con- Gal. 5.
'ſumed one of another. And as he ſaid of ſuch Chriſtians of old: *Nullæ tam infeſtæ hominibus beſtiæ, ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtiani.* Am. Marcell. 'There are no beaſts unto 'man ſo mortal enemies, as are moſt of that ſort of 'Chriſtians, implacable one unto another. I conclude this with that of the Father, concerning their Anceſtors; *Sic, ſic neceſſe eſt, ut minutatim ſecti conſciſſiq; deſpereant, æqui furorem animoſitatis ſuæ, Catholicæ pacis ſanctiſſimo vinculo prætulerunt.* Aug. contr. Epiſt. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 4. in fine. 'So, ſo is it juſt that they ſhould, 'crumbling and cut in mamocks, periſh and come to 'nothing; who have before the moſt holy band of the 'Churches general peace, preferred the ſwelling of their 'own high ſtomachs. Which leads me to the firſt point of Independency, but laſt to be ſpoken to, *viz. Separation.*

CHAP. II.

Of the grounds of Separation, *with an Examination and Refutation of them. And firſt in general.*

TOuching *Separation*, I ſhall ſpeak firſt in general, and then deſcend to ſome more ſpecial cauſes of it. In general thus. 1. In general.

It hath in it, of all the *three* ingredients of Independency, the moſt *malignity*, not only as it ariſeth from *pride*, *ſcorn*, and *hypocriſie* (the *Sal*, *ſulphur* and *Mercury* of this *ſubterraneous* body) but eſpecially, becauſe it ſuggeſts unto the hearts of the common people The evil of ſeparation.

that

that moſt *horrid temptation*, that *they are not in a way of life, and wherein they may be ſaved.* This provoked the
2 Cor. 5. 13. Gal. 1. 8, 9. chap. 5. 12. Apoſtle ſo in the like caſe, that they thought he was *beſides* himſelf: And to *curſe* the Authors of *Schiſm*, and 'wiſh they were *cut off*. To declame againſt them, as thoſe
Rom. 16. 17. 2 Cor. 11. 'that *ſerved their own bellies*: As *falſe* Apoſtles, and miniſters of *Sathan*. Yea, our *Saviour* upon this ground of
Matth. 7. Joh. 2. 1 Tim. 6. 'ſeparation and ſcattering of the flock, calls them *wolves* 'in ſheeps cloathing; and *thieves* and robbers. The Apoſtle elſe-where, that they are *proud*, *knowing nothing*, 'doting about queſtions and ſtrife of words; that they count *gain godlineſs*; and that the root of all this evil is *pride, and the love of mony, which is covetouſneſs*. That
How we may know when Separation is evil. Eph. 4. where there is profeſſed, *one God, one faith, one baptiſm, one Lord, one Spirit, &c.* thoſe that perſwade ſeparation from *ſuch*, are *cunning and crafty men that lie in wait to deceive*, with ſeveral other the like πάθη, high detonations and thundrings. Of it, what the Antients thought,
Aug. contr. Epiſt. Parm. l. 3. c. 2. we ſhall hear from *Auſtin: Conſilia ſeparationis, & inania ſunt & pernitioſa, atque ſacrilega, quia & impia & ſuperba ſunt.* 'Thoughts (ſaith he) of ſeparation are vain and 'peſtilent, yea, *ſacrilegious*, becauſe they are ungodly
Tom. 7. part. 1. 'and preſumptuous. And one half of a whole Tome of his, is on this Argument.

Five things in the Church, pretended as grounds of ſeparation. 2. But more eſpecially. * There are *five* things in the Church, from whence there might be pretended ground of ſeparation, *viz.* the *Doctrine*, the *Worſhip*, the *Aſſemblies*, the *Diſcipline*, and the *Government*. Now there are againſt them Exceptions both *general* and *particular*.
1. General exceptions againſt them. Firſt, *generally*, in no leſs than *ſeven* accuſations. Firſt, that many things in them are *unneceſſary*. Secondly, *inconvenient*, and of ill conſequence to the Church. Thirdly, for their riſe but *human* inventions. Or fourthly, at the beſt but *Apocryphal*, not Scriptural. Yea fifthly, *Popiſh ſuperſtitions*, and taken out of the *Maſs-book*. Moreover ſixthly, ſuch as are not *eſtabliſhed by the Laws* of this Church and Nation. Seventhly and laſtly, that there is an *engagement* for the removing or reforming of them

all

all in the late Solemn *League and Covenant*.

I might, for answer unto all these, as also to the particular exceptions against any of the premises, and the matter of them, refer the Reader unto that elaborate, and, in my judgment, unanswerable work of the learned *Hooker*. In which Argument, I may truly say of him, as he doth of *Calvin* in reference to his *Commentaries* and *Institutions*, *viz.* 'In which, whosoever after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gain-said; and of glory above 'them, if they consented. So fully hath he therein vindicated the *Worship* and *Discipline* of this Church. And therefore, (*Quem tu studiosa juventus; Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ*,) 'To be commended to the diligent 'perusal of all that love the peace of this *Jerusalem*. But because new pens must be opposed to Neoterick Opponents, and my Argument engages me, I shall speak something.

Præfat. in Eccles. polit. n. 2.

Colon. in Compend. Calv. Inst. in præfat.

SECT. I.

Unnecessary.

TO begin with the first, *viz.* That many things in them are *unnecessary*. For answer. It should be considered, that 'tis easie for *private men*, and those in a *lower* station, to mistake in judging of the motions of superior Orbs and Intelligences. A man that stands upon the *Watch-tower* (and such are publick persons) sees what those should do, who are beneath him, and what is necessary, better than a wiser man that is below. The reason is, that men of inferior place are not assisted with the advantage of so much information, with the presence and general view of so many things, nor *ordinarily* with that measure of the *Spirit*, (as being to act both in a *narrower* and a *lower* sphere) which God doth usually, and as it were *pro formâ* communicate unto men of higher

Answ.

Private men.

Ezek. 3. 17.

Publick persons.

place: who for the good of mankind, and of his Church, doth commonly furniſh men according to the places he
1 Sam. 10. 6. calleth them unto. *Saul* being appointed King, was forthwith indued with *another ſpirit*. So the *High Prieſt*, that
Joh. 11. 51. crucified the Lord Jeſus, uttered a myſterious and moſt precious Oracle, touching the *extent of the death of Chriſt*, for all the children of God, ſcattered abroad in all Nations. And 'tis expreſsly added, 'Being the 'High prieſt that year, as repreſenting the *cauſe*. And,
Prov. 16. 10. 'a *divine* ſentence (ſaith *Solomon*) is in the mouth of the 'King, his lips do not tranſgreſs in judgment. Now if he aſſiſted the former, and ſuch like; 'How much more then 'is he the Author of thoſe Laws (injoyning what is *ne-*'*ceſſary* in his Church) which have been made by his 'Saints, indued further, with the heavenly grace of his 'Spirit, and directed, as much as might be, with ſuch
R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. lib. 3. ſect. 9. 'inſtructions, as his ſacred Word doth yield, ſaith my Author. And I may add, and ſeveral of whom have laid down their lives for his truth.

SECT. II.

Inconvenient, and of ill conſequence.

A Second general Exception againſt the premiſes is, that they are *Inconvenient*, and of *evil conſequence*; firſt, *ſcandalous* to the weak, occaſions of *ſilencing* able Miniſters, and of *troubling many good* people.

Anſw. To the firſt, *ſcandal* is not that, which ſome perſons may
Scandal, what? be offended at, but properly that which makes our bro-
Rom. 14. 21, 13. ther to *offend and ſtumble*, as it is implicitely deſcribed
1 Cor. 8. 9. by the Apoſtle. Now the things we ſpeak of, are for the keeping of them from falling, and in the right way. If any will cenſure before he ſee and underſtand the matter, we muſt object unto them the *Apoſtles* own practiſe;
Act. 16. 3. with Gal. 2. 3, 5. who did both *circumciſe*, and refuſe alſo to *circumciſe*; yea, and *ſacrifice* too, as he ſaw it made for more gene-

ral

ral edification: Though it could not be without offence to ſome, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and ſeem'd unto them ſcandalous; inſomuch that the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem* perſwaded him to uſe certain of the legal Ceremonies, and to ſacrifice, for the ſatisfying of ſome that were ſo prejudiced againſt him. To the ſecond. That the premiſes are occaſions that ſome able Miniſters not conforming are ſilenced: They muſt remember, that it is not the *goodneſs* of the timber, nor *bigneſs* of the piece that makes it uſeful for the building, but its *fitneſs*. If it be knotty, or crooked, or otherwiſe *unproportionable*; a leſs and of meaner ſtuff may do better. When the Apoſtle ſaith, that certain Miniſters were transformed into *Angels of light*, doth he not imply, that they were men both of *parts* great, and *piety* very ſpecious; and yet for the *rents* that they made in the Churches, calleth them the *miniſters of Satan*; and elſe-where wiſheth, that they were *cut off*. It is not the *skill* of a *ſoldier*, nor his *courage*, but his *obedience* unto government, that makes him capable of an Office. *Metall* without *breaking*, makes the Horſe to caſt his Rider. And St. *Auſtin*, when he commends *Tichonius* the *Donatiſt*, as *hominem acri ingenio praditum & uberi eloquio*: 'himſelf a man indued 'with a ſharp wit, and fluent eloquence; would not yet have had him his Colleague at *Hippo*, for men by *ſweet preaching* (as was noted before) may cauſe ſuch diviſions in the Church, that the brethren may be warned to beware of them. And it will lie at their *own*, and not at the Churches doore, if their *Talent* have been wrapped up in a napkin. And it had been better both for this Church and Nation, and for ſome of our ſelves likewiſe, if, *whilſt* we had ſuch principles, we had been *ſilenc'd*, and *aſleep* alſo. To the laſt, *viz.* That *conſcientious* men are, for their unconformity unto theſe things, moleſted and troubled; I anſwer, And well they may, both for their *own* good and *others*, whom by their example or perſwaſion they might miſlead: *For if God may juſtly plague his people for neglecting his good and wholſom*

Act. 21. 26.

2. Able Miniſters ſilenced.

2 Cor. 11.

Gal. 5.

Contra Parmen. l. 1. c. 1.

Rom. 16. 17.

3. Conſcientious men troubled.

Act for the uniformity of Common-prayer.

wholsome Law, (in these cases provided) as the *Queen* and *Parliament* imply, he will; It is as good service done to men by *penalties*, to compel them to their duty in these particulars, as to scourge a child to keep him from the *fire*. St. *Austin* being once of the mind, that *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks* should not be punished; on better *advice*, acquaintance with the *Scripture*, and by *experience*, was brought to be of another mind, and wrote two large and elaborate Epistles, to defend the lawfulness of the use of Laws to that purpose.

Epist. 48. and 50.

SECT. III.

Humane Inventions.

Answ. THe third general Exception is, against the things we treat of, that they are *inventions humane*, and from man onely, several of them. First, 'The light of natural 'understanding, wit, and reason, is from God; he it is, 'which thereby doth illuminate every man entring into 'the world. If these proceed from us any thing after-'ward corrupt and naught, the mother therof is our 'own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such 'cause whereof God is the Author. He is the Author 'of all that we think or do, by vertue of that light which 'himself hath given. And therefore the Laws which the 'very Heathens did gather, to direct their actions by, 'so far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, 'God himself doth acknowledge to have proceeded even 'from himself, and that he was the writer of them in the 'table of their hearts. In the second place, How much 'more then is he the Author of those Laws, which have 'been made by his Saints? &c. saith that praiseworthy 'Author. When the Disciples would have had our Sa-'viour to put the man to silence who cast out devils in 'his name, and followed him not with them, our Savi-'our rebuking of them, gives us this useful Maxim in religious

Rich. Hook. Eccles. pol. lib. 3. sect. 9.

Mar. 9. 38.

religious matters, *viz. That he that is not against us is on our part.* Things not oppoſing of the Scripture, and *intended* for, and *tending* to the furtherance of Religion, they are *not humane* notions; but the inventions of men directed by *Scripture* in the general touching ſuch things (*viz.* That all things be done to decency and edification) and guided by the *Spirit of God* in ſuch particulars. Obſervance whereof, rather than oppoſition thereto, would repreſent a Chriſts Diſciple. The Feaſt of *Dedication* of the Temple, was no injunction from the Lord; But ſo uſeful an invention of man, that our Lord himſelf obſerved it. Remarkable alſo to this purpoſe is the profeſſion of the Learned *Zanchy* touching things of this nature. *viz. Credo ea quæ à piis patribus in nomine domini Congregatis, communi omnium conſenſu, citra ullam ſacrarum literarum contradictionem definita & recepta fuerunt, ea etium (quanquam haud ejuſdem cum ſacris literis authoritatis) A SPIRITU SANCTO ESSE.* Thoſe things (ſaith 'he) which have been concluded and received by the holy 'Fathers, gathered together in the name of God, agreed 'on by common conſent, and without any *contradiction* 'to the Scripture, (although they are not of the ſame 'authority with the holy Scriptures) yet I believe even 'thoſe things to be from the *HOLY GHOST*. Thus he. 'And it is not in vain that Chriſt hath promiſed his Spirit 'to his people, to guide them into all truth.

1 Cor. 14.

1 Maccab. 4. 59. Joh. 10. 22.

Zanch. Obſerv. in confeſſ. ſuam. cap. 25. Aph. 10, 11. *abinitio.*

Canons of the Church, of what authority.

Joh. 14. cap. 15. cap. 16.

SECT. IV.

Of the Apocrypha.

TO the *fourth*; that many things in the premiſes are but *Apocryphal*, and ſo not Scriptural nor obliging.

Now Touching the *Apocrypha* and its injunction to be read in ſome parts in the Church, although all the Scripture be not read: Firſt, which Books in caſe my 'ſelf did think as ſome others do, ſafer and better to

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R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. ſect. 20.

'be left publickly unread; nevertheleſs, as in *other* things 'of *like* nature, even ſo in this, my *private* judgment 'I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their re- 'verend authority; who rather conſidering the divine ex- 'cellency of ſome things in all, and of all things in cer- 'tain of thoſe *Apocrypha*, which we publickly read, have 'thought it better to let them ſtand as a *liſt* or *marginal* 'border unto the Old Teſtament. And though, with di- 'vine, yet as *humane* compoſitions, to grant at the leaſt 'unto certain of them publick audience in the Church of 'God. And if in them there happen any ſpeech, that 'ſoundeth towards error; ſhould the mixture of a little 'droſs, conſtrain the Church to deprive her ſelf of ſo 'much gold, rather than learn how by art and judg- 'ment to make ſeparation? To this effect very fitly 'from the counſel that St. *Jerom* giveth unto *Læta*, 'of taking *heed* how ſhe read the *Apocrypha*; as alſo by 'the help of other learned mens judgment we may take 'direction. And let me add, that without ſuch directi- ons, King *James* ſaid well, 'he would not have all the 'Canonical Scripture read.

Confer. Hamp. Court. pag. 61.

But becauſe ſome there are, who ſeem better to reliſh *forreign* judgments, than thoſe of their own Church; I ſhall recite firſt *Bullingers* opinion of thoſe Books, and the publick reading of them, one of the Profeſſors of the Church of *Tigur*; his words are: *Ego verò arbitror, ſalvo aliorum judicio, iſtos libros (Apocryphos) rectiſſimè Hagiographa dici poſſe, nimirum a ſanctis viris de rebus Scriptos ſacris —— quos quanquam non ſint in Canone Hebræo, Eccleſia tamen, quia ſancta tradunt, & Canonicis* non contradicunt, *recipit ac in ſanctorum catibus legit.* 'I do think, ſaith he, ſaving other mens 'judgments, that theſe Apocryphal Books may very 'juſtly be called *holy writings*, as being written by *holy* 'men touching *holy* things: which though they are not in 'the *Hebrew Canon*, yet, becauſe they treat of religious 'matters, and do not *contradict* the holy Scriptures, 'the Church doth receive them, and *reads* them in the

Expoſitio de ſacr. libr. dignitate præfix. ante Biblia Tigurin. ſive Leon: Judæ.

aſſem-

'*Aſſemblies* of the *Saints*. Then he produceth the judgment and relation of *Cyprian*, or *Ruffinus* (for the work is aſcribed to both) in his *Expoſition of the Creed* to the ſame purpoſe. Where it is, by the way, to be noted, (out of the Text of *Cyprian* or *Ruffinus*) firſt, that he reckons the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, exactly as the Church of *England* doth. Secondly, that he ſaith, that is *ſecundum majorum traditionem, & ex patrum monumentis*: 'That it is according to the tradition 'of the Church, and out of the writings of the Fathers. Whereby we ſee the Church of *England* follows antiquity in reception of the books of holy Scripture, more truly than the Church of *Rome* doth. But this *obiter*, and the way.

Cyprian. expoſ. Symb.

The Church of *England* receiveth the Canon of Scripture according to the antient Church.

Again, *Bullinger* citeth the judgment of *Bibliander*, *de opt. genere interpretandi Hebraica*, whoſe words are: *Eccleſiaſticos libros, etiam Hagiographa nominant & ſancta ſcripta. Quæ etſi non habent idoneam authoritatem roborandi ea quæ in contentionem veniunt, ut Canonici Scriptores, non tamen rejiciuntur ut Apocrypha, qualis fuit prophetia Eldad & Medad, &c.* —— *Eccleſiaſtici autem libri etiam in Scholam & auditoria fidelis populi admiſſi ſunt, & tam venerandi multis, ut* Judith *etiam in ordinem canonicæ Scripturæ à quibuſdam reponatur.* Which having the ſame ſenſe, I forbear to Engliſh. Only he ſaith, that the Book of *Judith* was by ſome accounted Scripture (I ſuppoſe he meaneth *Origen*) which I think may as little claim that priviledge as any other.

Bibliander.

Laſtly, *Bullinger* goes over every book of them, and ſhews the benefit that the Church may reap by the reading of them. And ſaith, 'We may better learn the form 'of *Houſhold-government* out of *Tobit* and *Judith*; and 'the *Ethicks* or rules of good living, out of *Eccleſiaſticus* 'and the book of *Wiſdom*, than out of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, 'and *Xenophon*: And the way of a religious *Soldier* out 'the *Maccabees*. And of the firſt book of them he ſaith. *Ac tanti omnino hic liber eſt, ut boni illo non poſſent citra jacturam carere.* 'That it is verily of ſuch worth, that

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'a good man cannot without loſs be without it. Which is conſonant unto that of King *James*, ſpeaking of the ſame book, *viz.* 'Who ſhewed the uſe of the *Maccabees* 'to be very good, to make up the ſtory of the perſecution 'of the *Jews*, &c. And of the Hiſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon Bullinger* ſaith: *Viderint autem qui eam hiſtoriam, pro fabula damnant, quibus nitantur Authoribus: Ego video Hiſtoriam reſertiſſimam eſſe multiplici fructu & eruditione.* 'Let them look to it, ſaith he, what Authors they reſt 'upon, who condemn it for a *fable*: I obſerve it to be a 'Hiſtory full fraught with fruitful inſtructions. And he names what. In a word, his whole diſcourſe on theſe books is worth reading. And it is to be noted, that this was with the allowance of the reſt of the *Miniſters* of *Tigur*, where this book was printed.

Conf. Hamp. Court, pag. 61.

Neceſſit. Reform. pag. 20. *Baſilic. Doron.*

But the authority of King *James* is by ſome *Brethren* objected againſt the Apocrypha, *viz.* 'As for the Apo- 'crypha books, I omit them, becauſe I am no Papiſt; and 'indeed ſome of them are not like the ditement of the 'Spirit of God. Thus, ſay they, the King. But, it ſeems, time and reading had further ripened the Kings judgment in that point. For afterward when he upon great occaſion *ſolemnly* delivered his judgment, *è Cathedrâ*, in reference to the ſatisfaction of his *whole Kingdom*, this was the reſult. His Majeſty in the end ſaid; 'He 'would take an even order between both. Affirming 'that he would not wiſh all *Canonical* books to be read 'in the Church, unleſs there were one to *interpret*; nor 'any *Apocrypha* at all, wherein there was * any error. 'But for the *other*, which were clear and *correſpondent* 'to the *Scripture*, *he would have them read*; for elſe (ſaid 'he) why were they printed? and therein ſhewed the 'uſe of the book of *Maccabees* very good to make up 'the ſtory of the Perſecutions of the *Jews*, but *not* to 'teach a man to ſacrifice for the dead, or to kill himſelf. Thus far the King, which if the Brethren knew, they did not well to cover; and if they knew it not, and were not vers'd in the moſt *authentical* books and writings of this

Anſw.

Confer. Hamp Court, ſecond day confer. p. 61.

* He explains himſelf preſently, in allowing the book of *Maccabees*, wherein he acknowledgeth ſome errors.

cature

nature, as that *Conference* is a ſpecial one, they were not fit to deal in ſuch an Argument. So alſo in the ſame place of the ſame Conference, the King opened and defended a paſſage in *Eccleſiaſticus*, one of the Apocryphal books, objected againſt as unſound, and cloſes all with this ſalt quippe to the oppoſers: 'What trow ye makes 'theſe men ſo angry with *Eccleſiaſticus*? by my ſaul I 'think he was a Biſhop, &c. You ſee with what judg-'ment the Brethren have quoted the King againſt the Apocrypha, and yet as a crowing argument they inſiſt upon it. pag. 61, 62.

Again, St. *Hieron* is alſo produced as a witneſs againſt theſe books, *viz.* 'That he ſhould adviſe a Lady, ſay 'they, *caveat omnia Apocrypha*; that ſhe ſhould take 'heed of all the Apocrypha. There are ſeveral cauſes of miſtaking, and miſ-repreſenting of an Author; as, 1 That men reſt on Quotations, and *read* them not themſelves. 2 That they underſtand not the language and *Idiom* of the writer. 3 That they weigh not his *ſcope* and drift. 4 That they ponder not the *context*. 5 That they compare not one place with another. 6 That they conſider not the circumſtances, time, place, &c. 7 That they conſult not others that may illuſtrate him. Then for miſrepreſenting him. 1 That they make no *bones* of it. 2 That they conceit, they ſhall not be *ſeen* by every eye. 3 And that when they be, they have a *brow* to bear it, ſo what they ſay may ſerve the turn at preſent. It ſo fares here. For if the Brethren read the place they quote in *Jerom*, it is ſure they *underſtood* not what he meant by *Apocrypha*. *Eraſmus* therefore on the place ſhall teach them. *Inſeribuntur Petro, Paulo, nonnulla ipſi Chriſto, veluti epiſtola Jeſu ad Abygarum regem.* 'They are, 'ſaith he, aſcribed to *Peter*, to *Paul*, and ſome to *Chriſt* 'himſelf, as the Epiſtle of *Jeſus* unto *Agborus*. Where you ſee, that *Jerome* did not mean by the *Apocrypha* onely the Books joyned with the *Old Teſtament*; but thoſe alſo, yea, thoſe eſpecially, that were affixed to the *New*. Again, They did not weigh *Jerom's ſcope*; for it was

Object. 2. *Hierom. Ep. ad Lætam. Tom.* 1.

Anſw.

Cauſes of miſ-underſtanding and miſ-repreſenting of an Author.

Eraſm. in Hierom ep. ad Lætam. num. 79.

onely to inſtruct a young Girl in reading in that place, not to ſhew what the *Church* might do, or did. Fourthly, They did not compare this paſſage with *others*, where he expreſſeth himſelf *ex profeſſo*. As where he ſpeaks of the Books which bear *Solomons* name (but are not his) uſed to be read in the Church, as *Eccleſiaſticus*, and the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, he addeth; *Sicut ergo* Judith & Tobiæ & Machabeorum *libros*, legit quidem Eccleſia, *ſed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas, non recipit: ſic & hæc duo volumina* legat; *ad ædificationem plebis, non ad authoritatem Eccleſiaſticorum dogmatum confirmandam.* 'As therefore (ſaith he) the *Church reads the books of* 'Judith (one of thoſe the Brethren expreſly except 'againſt) and of *Tobit*, and the *Maccabees*; yet not 'counting them among the Canonical Scriptures; ſo *let* 'it read theſe two Books (*Eccleſiaſticus* and the *Wiſdom* 'of *Solomon*) for the edification of the people, though not 'for the eſtabliſhing the Authority of the Doctrines of 'the Church. Where there are three things to be noted. Firſt, that theſe Books are *Apocrypha*. Secondly, That they *were read in the Church*. Laſtly, That they *may* be ſo done.

Hierom's teſtimony of the publick reading of the Apocrypha.

Fifthly, They ſuppreſs the *whole-ſentence* out of which they quote that particle; whence it would have appear'd that he did not forbid her abſolutely the reading of them, but that ſhe ſhould do it warily, and with judgment. His words are: *Caveat omnia Apocrypha. Et ſi quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, ſed ad ſignorum reverentiam legere vo'uerit; ſciat, non eorum eſſe, quorum titulis prænotantur; multaque his admixta vitioſa, & grandis eſſe prudentiæ, aurum in luto quærere.* 'Let her take heed 'of all the *Apocrypha* (but what he meant by them we 'heard above) but if at any time ſhe will read them, not 'for the confirming of the faith of doctrine, but for the 'reverence unto the things intended in thoſe writings, 'let her know; that they are not the works of thoſe whoſe 'name they bear; and that many corrupt things are 'mixed with them; and that it is for the riper wiſdom to

'ſeek

'*ſeek gold out of the clay.* Thus he. Even as *Paul* adviſeth the *Theſſalonians*, to '*prove all things*, and hold 1 Theſs. 5.
'faſt that which is good. So our *Saviour* commands his Matth. 23. 3.
'Diſciples to hear the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; but yet to chap. 16. 6.
'*take heed of their leaven.* So *Jerom* allows her to read
them, but with diſcretion; without which, even the 2 Pet. 3.
Scripture proveth a ſnare to the weak.

Now, notwithſtanding all this, I am of the judgment of St. *Hierom*, of *Ruffinus* (or *Cyprian*) above quoted, and of the *Church of England*, touching the nature and uſe of the *Apocrypha*; yet may I not perhaps, oppoſe the evidence of thoſe * learned men, who have endeavoured to prove ſome of them *fictions*; yet ſuch as were intended, and are uſeful for * edification. In which regard, my ſelf not long ſince heard a great man of the *Separation* SAY, (but he could not SEAL it by any evidence, though urged) that the *Common-prayer* was Popiſh; but *Romances* were uſeful, though *fictitious*, becauſe they expreſs vertue and vice to the heighth. If ſo, why then may not the *Apocrypha* paſs for *Religious Romances*, wherein the like is performed. Of one of which St. *Jerom*. *Accipite Judith viduam caſtitatis exemplum, & triumphali laude, perpetuis eam præconiis declarate. Hanc enim non ſolum fœminis, ſed & viris imitabilem dedit, qui caſtitatis ejus remunerator, virtutem talem ei tribuit, ut invictum omnibus hominibus vinceret, & inſuperabilem ſuperaret.* Receive ye Ju-'*dith* (ſaith he) the widow, an example of *chaſtity*, and 'with triumphant praiſe publiſh her with perpetual 'commendations; for he who was the rewarder of her 'chaſtity, hath propounded her to be imitated, not one-'ly by women but by men alſo. Who gave her alſo ſuch 'grace, that ſhe overcame him that was unconquerable, 'and prevailed over him whom no man could vanquiſh. So that you ſee, if thoſe writings be uſeful in the Church,

* *Hieron. in prolog's variis. Whitak. de S. Script. Q. 1. Reynold. de lib. Apocryph. Junius in Apocryph. Chamier. de Canone. Aliiq;.*

* *Conficta ſunt enim, ſed in hoc conficta, ut ſacrum aliquid ſignificent. Eraſm. in epiſt. Hieron. ad Lætam n. 78.*

Hieron. prefat. in Judith. Tom. 3.

as that noble perſon ſaid, that expreſs vertue and vice to the life; and that in the opinion of St. *Jerom* (no weakling) ſome of theſe books do ſo; even in that reſpect they ſhould not be rejected wholly. And if the fore-quoted Authors pleaſe not; the next, I preſume, will, and they are (the Abomination of the Brethrens ſoul) the *Biſhops*; but yet in this point, and that's ſtrange, will ſpeak *ad ſalivam*, and to their palate. *Viz.* in the *Admonition* prefixed unto the ſecond Tome of Homilies, done, no doubt, by the ſame Authors, that the Homilies were, and publiſhed by the ſame authority. In that admonition unto Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical (and it is a grave and godly one) are theſe words: 'And where 'it may ſo chance ſome one or other (here's room you 'ſee) chapter of the *Old Teſtament*, to fall in order to 'be read upon the Sundays or Holy-days, which were '*BETTER* to be changed with ſome other of the *New* '*Teſtament*, of *MORE* edification; it ſhall be well 'done to ſpend your time to conſider well of ſuch chap-'ters before-hand, whereby your prudence and your di-'ligence ſhall appear, ſo that your people may have 'cauſe to glorifie God for you, and be the readier to 'embrace your labours, to your better commendation, 'to the diſcharge of your conſciences and their own. To explain that, they meant *all* that was to be read, except the New Teſtament, by the word *Old Teſtament* were needleſs. Now you ſee that the Liturgy, the Kalender, the Rubrick, doth not ſo tie the Miniſter, to ſyllables in every thing, but hath left ſomething to his diſcretion and piety, and particularly in this, the reading of the Old Teſtament, and (if you diſtinguiſh, *ne dum*) of the *Apocrypha*. So much for the fourth head of the Exceptions, namely, that reſpecting the Apocrypha.

Preſat. in Tom. 2. Homil.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of Popery, and the Maſs-book.

To the fifth, *viz.* That the things mentioned do favour of *Rome*, that they are *Popiſh*, ſuperſtitious, and taken out of the *Maſs-book*. If we ſhould here reply, That both the *matter* and *form*, the ſubſtance and ceremonies, of the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government of the Church of *England*, is much more *antient* than Popery, in the *main* of it; Yet there are thoſe that have a ſtarting-hole for this, and a *note beyond Ela*, *viz.* 'That albeit ſome of the Rites and Ceremonies 'now in uſe, may be mentioned in *ſundry* of the *Fathers*, 'within the firſt ſix hundred years after Chriſt, yet ſuch 'mentioning of them is no evidence that they are not 'Popiſh, foraſmuch as Popery was in the egg, and the 'myſtery of iniquity began to work, though under other 'diſguiſes, and under other names, even in the time of 'St. *Paul* himſelf, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 7. But if *Popery* be truly defined by St. *Paul* to be a *departing from the faith*, it ſhall be evident, that theſe are no *Popery*. It is prudently uttered by King *James*, when the like was before him objected of ſome of theſe matters; 'That no 'Church ought further to ſeparate it ſelf from the Church 'of *Rome*, (I may add, or from any other Church) either 'in Doctrine or Ceremony, than ſhe had departed from 'her *ſelf*, and from Chriſt her Lord and *head*. And indeed it is a *Popiſh* and ſuperſtitious principle, to take nothing of thoſe Churches that are oppoſite to them, which is an iſſue of their pride and arrogance; which ſome now imitate on the other ſide. Now it muſt be 'noted, 'Thot thoſe that hold the *head*, the confeſſion 'of faith, do all joyn in the *root*, though they ſeparate 'above, and in the *branches*. Hence, *Eccleſiam aliquam manere in Papatu*: 'There is ſome Church remaining 'in

Anſw.

Reaſ. neceſſ. Reform. p. 63. Inſtance.

Anſw. 1 Tim. 4. 1.

Conf. Hamp. Court. pag. 75. *Anſw.*

R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. §. 68. p. 368. Calv. Epiſt. ad Socinum. 1549. vid. Et Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 11.

as that noble perſon ſaid, that expreſs vertue and vice to the life; and that in the opinion of St. *Jerom* (no weakling) ſome of theſe books do ſo; even in that reſpect they ſhould not be rejected wholly. And if the fore-quoted Authors pleaſe not; the next, I preſume, will, and they are (the Abomination of the Brethrens ſoul) the *Biſhops*; but yet in this point, and that's ſtrange, will ſpeak *ad ſalivam*, and to their palate. *Viz.* in the *Admonition* prefixed unto the ſecond Tome of Homilies, done, no doubt, by the ſame Authors, that the Homilies were, and publiſhed by the ſame authority. In that admonition unto Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical (and it is a grave and godly one) are theſe words: 'And where 'it may ſo chance ſome one or other (here's room you 'ſee) chapter of the *Old Teſtament*, to fall in order to 'be read upon the Sundays or Holy-days, which were '*BETTER* to be changed with ſome other of the *New* '*Teſtament*, of *MORE* edification; it ſhall be well 'done to ſpend your time to conſider well of ſuch chap-'ters before-hand, whereby your prudence and your di-'ligence ſhall appear, ſo that your people may have 'cauſe to glorifie God for you, and be the readier to 'embrace your labours, to your better commendation, 'to the diſcharge of your conſciences and their own. To explain that, they meant *all* that was to be read, except the New Teſtament, by the word *Old Teſtament* were needleſs. Now you ſee that the Liturgy, the Kalender, the Rubrick, doth not ſo tie the Miniſter, to ſyllables in every thing, but hath left ſomething to his diſcretion and piety, and particularly in this, the reading of the Old Teſtament, and (if you diſtinguiſh, *ne dum*) of the *Apocrypha*. So much for the fourth head of the Exceptions, namely, that reſpecting the Apocrypha.

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Conf. Hamp. Court. pag. 75.

Anſw.

R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. §. 68. p. 368.

Calv. Epiſt. ad Socinum. 1549. vid. Et Inſti. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 11.

'in the Papacy, saith *Calvin*. Others I might name, but take *Zanchy*'s (notable) word for all: *Nescio quo singulari beneficio Dei, hoc adhuc boni in Romanâ Ecclesiâ servari, nemo non vidit, nisi qui videre non vult. Quod nimirum sicut semper, sic nunc etiam constans & firma in verâ de Deo, deq; personâ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, doctrinâ persistit. Et Baptizat in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti; Christumque agnoscit, & prædicat pro unico mundi Redemptore futuroque vivorum & mortuorum judice: qui veros fideles secum in æternum vitam recepturus, incredulos autem & impios in æternum ignem cum diabolo & Angelis ejus ejecturus sit. Quæ causa est, cur Ecclesiam* HANC, *pro Ecclesia* CHRISTI *etiamnum agnoscam; sed quali? Qualis & ab* Osea *aliisque prophetis, Ecclesia* Israelis *sub* Jeroboamo, *& deinceps fuisse describitur, nunquam enim resipuit à suis fornicationibus.* That is: 'I know not by what kind of special 'mercy of God, but so it is, that thus much good re- 'mains in the Church of *Rome*, *which every man sees*, '*but they that will see nothing*. Namely, that, as *al-* '*ways*, so *now*, it persists firm and constant in the true 'doctrine concerning *God*, and concerning the Person 'of our Lord *Jesus Christ*: And *Baptizeth* in the Name 'of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. 'And doth acknowledge and preach *Christ* for the one- 'ly *Redeemer* of the world, and he that shall be the '*Judge* of the quick and the dead. Who also shall re- 'ceive unto himself all true believers unto eternal life; 'and who shall reject unto everlasting fire, with the de- 'vil and his angels, all unbelievers and wicked men. 'For which reason I do in some sort acknowledge *THIS* 'for a Church of *CHRIST*. But what kind of one? 'namely, such as the Church of *Israel* is described to be 'under *Jeroboam*, and afterwards by *Hosea* and other 'Prophets, for she never repented of her fornications. Thus he. Some kind of Church of Christ then, it being; Hence it follows, first, that *all* things in Popery are not superstitious; for if a Church, there must be somewhat

Zanch. ep. dedic. ante confess. suam. Tom. 8.

The *Roman* Church, what remains found in it.

of

of the Spirit of God, and of Christ, in *them*, to guide and keep it in *these truths*. Else why do these Brethren read the Popish writers, the Jesuites and Schoolmen, as some of them have the best *spoak* in their cart from thence, and preach much of their matter and notions to their people. Joh. 1. Joh. 16.

The superstition may be either in the *opinion* that they had of them, or the *abuse* they made of them; which being removed, the thing may be lawful, even in *individuo*. As the flesh that had been consecrated to an *Idol*, even *that very flesh* might have been bought or eaten, by the strong and those that knew the truth. As, God be praised, our people do in the things excepted against; no man putting any confidence in them, but in *Christ* alone, observing them onely for order, edification, and decency. 4. 1 Cor. 8.

Secondly, Some kind of respect must have been given to that Church (as a Church of Christ in some sense) by the *Reformers*; both for preventing offence in respect of them abroad, and for the regaining of the brethren of this Nation amongst us, misled that way, as the Apostle saith: 'I become all things to all men, that I might by all 'means win some. If therefore, what could not be then, or cannot be now, without danger in those respects left off, be retained still; the doctrine of the Church in the mean time being fully opened and professed; it is charity, not Popery; and wisdom (godly) not superstition. 'for we must have respect unto the weak. Before we leave this. If it be objected, that the Church of * *England* doth seem to hold the Church of *Rome* the seat of *Anti-Christ*, and the *Pope* to be his very peson: It is answered, suppose it do so; yet doth it not therefore follow, but that the Church of *Rome* hath something in it of a true Church; else how should *Antichrist sit in the Temple of God*, which is his Church, if the seat of Antichrist were not in *some respects* 2. 1 Cor. 9. *ad fin* 1 Cor. 14. *Object.* * Homily on *Whitsunday*, part 3. Homily of Rebellion in several places, and in other Homilies. *Answ.* 2 Thess. 2.

ſpects a Church. And that the Church of *England* doth acknowledge, that *Rome* hath *ſomething of a Church* in it; its retaining the *Baptiſm* and *Miniſtery* of that Church, its not re-baptizing or new-ordaining thoſe that come to it from that, doth plainly ſhew. This for Popery and the Church of *Rome* in general. Secondly, for the *Maſs-book* in particular. Let us ſee whether any gold be in *Ennius* dung, whether any good thing can come out of *Nazareth*, and whether any truth and piety out of the *Maſs-book*. *Bellarmine*, who knew its meaning well, and in a cauſe wherein, if any where, he ſhould have paſs'd it by, proves out of the *Maſs-book*, that *we can have no truſt nor confidence in our own work and merits for ſalvation*, but *onely in the mercy of God*. In which, as in the *Maſter-vein*, doth run the *life-blood* of all Religion. The words are: [a] *Deus qui conſpicis, quia ex nulla noſtrâ actione confidimus. Item* [b] *ubi nulla ſuppetunt ſuffragia meritorum, tuis nobis ſuccurre præſidiis. Item* [c] *intra quorum, nos conſortium, non æſtimator meriti, ſed venia quæſumus largitor admitte.* That is; firſt, 'O God, which ſeeſt, that we truſt in 'no act or *work* of ours. Again; 'Where we have no help of *merits*, do thou ſuccour us 'with thy aſſiſtance. Again, Admit thou us into their '(the bleſſed Saints) company, who art, not the eſteemer 'of *merit*, but the vouchſafer of *mercy*. Thirdly, It having been often evidenced by * ours, that our Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, is much more *antient* than Popery, (properly ſo called) although alſo uſurped in ſome things by Papiſts; what hindreth, but as the veſſels of the Temple, defiled by *Belſhazzar* both in *drunkenneſs* and *idolatry*, might return to their priſtine uſe; ſo thoſe things that were Chriſts before, but uſurped by them, we may, *tanquam ab injuſtis poſſeſſoribus in noſtrum uſum vendicare*; take our

2. The Maſs-book.

Cic. Joh. 1.

De Juſtific. lib. 5. cap. 7. ſit tertia propoſitio.

Miſſale Rom. edit. Paris 1787.

The Maſs-book againſt merits.

a] *Collectâ in ſexageſimâ.*
b] *Collect. ſecreta dom. Adventus. 2.*
c] *In canone poſt conſecration. in orat. prox. poſt comemorat. pro defunct. ——— de multitudine miſerationum tuarum ſperantib. &c.*

* *Jewel*, in defence of the Apolog. and others.

Dan. 7.

De doctr. Chriſt. l. 2. c. 40.

our own goods out of theeviſh hands, as *Auſtin*, of the truths uttered by the Heathen. *Auſtin.*

But laſtly, (becauſe the victory over *Goliah* was the more remarkable, the *laſt blow* being given by his own ſword) we ſhall retort the argument, *viz.* That there 'ought to be no ſeparation from the Worſhip and Liturgy, 'becauſe *whilſt the Common-prayer-book is of force, and* 'neither deſerved nor tranſgreſſed; *Popery, and that ſuperſtition on the one hand, as a flood; nor Anabaptiſm and Separation, as a rotting diſtillation, on the other; can ever come in upon the Church.* And for *this*, though I have neither ſtrength nor armour, ſo ſpecious or ſo maſſy, as they perhaps may have; yet I ſhall not doubt to caſt the Gantlet to any Champion of the *Philiſtines*. Such was the judgment of that learned Prince, King *James*, related to by the Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, in theſe words: 'His Majeſty therefore calling to mind 'the ſaying of *Tertullian*; *Id verum quod primum*. (That 'is true which is firſt) And remembring with what do-'ctrine, the Church of *England* in her *firſt*, and moſt 'happy Reformation, did drive out the *one*, and keep 'out the *other*, &c. He had nam'd before, *Popery*, *Anabaptiſm*, and *Separation*. I am not ignorant that *Sancta Clara* hath endeavoured to reconcile even our *Articles of Religion*, with the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. 'But what communion hath *light* with *darkneſs*, and 'what concord hath *Chriſt* with *Belial*, and what agree-'ment hath the *Temple* of God with *Idols*? The new *Jeruſalem* is four-*ſquare*, the *Harlot* ſits upon Circles, (*ſeven hills) can they *quadrare circulum*? But to return to the former. For proof (at preſent) touching *Anabaptiſm* and *Separation*, there is no doubt of that. And for *Popery*, the chief points thereof (as oppoſite unto the *Proteſtant* Religion) are countervened there, as may appear by the Council of *Trent*, by *Bellarmine*, and our *Rhemiſts* (the true Interpreters of that Council, as

4. Becauſe the Liturgy deſtroyeth Popery and Superſtition.

Lord *Abbot* Arch-biſhop of *Cant.* Letter, with K. *James* inſtructions concerning Preachers, *Sept.* 3. 1622.

2 Cor. 6.

* Apoc. 17. 9.

a] De S. Scripturâ in præfatione. *Quia novus Papismus à vetere multum differt, quod de omni causa* Tridentinum *concilium statuerit, imprimis quæramus, tum hujus concilii fidelissimi interpretes* Jesuitas, *& nostros etiam* Rhemenses; *& quia* Bellarminus *has causas accurate, tractavit, illum quasi scopum proponemus.*

b] *Concil. Trid. Sess. 4. decret. 1.*

our * *Whitaker* hath it) if compared with it. To instance in a few particulars. The first shall be that; *Traditiones ipsas —— pari pietatis affectu & reverentiâ suscipit & veneretur.* 'That the Traditions of the Church are to be 'received with the same affection 'and reverence, as the holy Scriptures themselves. And so the

1. Traditions. worship of God may be farced with them, as well as with the reading and preaching the holy Scripture. Now the *Liturgy* assigneth nothing to be put into the worship but the Scriptures, either those that are undoubtedly so, or else such as have been of great veneration and antiquity in the Church, though not received into the Canon, and *which in regard of the divine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certain of them, have been thought better to stand as a list or marginal border unto the Old Testament*; yet with this liberty, that where the Minister shall perceive *some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification*; he may do it. As was noted above.

R. Hook. Eccles. pol. l. 5. § 19.

Admonition to all Ministers Ecclesiastical, prefixed before the second Tome of Homilies.

The next may be, the *Medium* or *Mediator* of our worship, by whom it is to be commended unto God. The Church of *Rome* joyn in commission with *Christ* the blessed *Virgin*, the holy *Apostles*, the *Angels*, and the *Saints* departed. Our *Common-prayer*, as our Saviour in another place, shuts out all this crowd, and with the *High-Priest* when he was to offer *Incense*, which represented the *prayers* of the Saints, suffers no man to take this honor to himself but Christ alone, in the close of the prayers adding this *basis* to the support of all, and naming no where any other; and some-

2. Intercession of Saints.

Luk. 1. Apoc. 5. 8. Heb. 5.

time

time expreſly *excluding* them by that bar [*only*] affixed unto Chriſt through our *only Mediatour and Advocate Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Second Collect in the Letany, and elſewhere.

A third, the *merit* of our prayers and worſhip. The *Papiſts* we know, do attribute ſo much to that, ſuch a kind and number of them being ſaid at ſuch a place, they ſhall *merit the very merits of Chriſt*, and properly deſerve a reward. And that not *ex congruo*, and of conveniency only, but *ex condigno*, and of ſtrict juſtice. *Good works* (ſay the *Rhemiſts*, and prayer and divine worſhip, is a principal one even with them alſo) *be meritorious, and the very cauſe of ſalvation, ſo far that God ſhould be unjuſt, if he rendred not Heaven for the ſame.* But our *Liturgy* teacheth us, that when we have offered our *alms*, our *prayers*, yea, and have performed the very higheſt of divine worſhip, the celebration of the *holy Communion*, in the cloſe of all to ſay: 'And 'although we be unworthy, through our manifold ſins, 'to offer unto thee any ſacrifice; yet we beſeech thee to 'accept this our bounden duty and ſervice, *NOT 'WEIGHING OUR MERITS, BUT 'PARDONING OUR OFFENCES*, &c. and many the like paſſages. A fourth particular ſhall be the *Maſs*, wherein is pretended that the Bread after Conſecration being tranſubſtantiated into the very fleſh of Chriſt, and that elevated by the Prieſt with certain words; there is offered up a *real ſacrifice expiatory for the ſins of the living and the dead. Non ſolum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, ſatisfactionibus & aliis neceſſitatibus; ſed & pro defunctis in Chriſto nondum ad plenum purgatis ritè offertur.* And again, *Si quis dixerit in Miſſa non offerri Deo verum & proprium ſacrificium, Anathema ſit.* That is, In the *Maſs* is *offered* 'rightly, not only for the ſins, puniſhments, ſatisfa-'ctions and other neceſſities of the living, but for the 'dead in Chriſt alſo. And, if any man ſhall ſay that in 'the *Maſs* there is not a true and *proper ſacrifice*, let 'him be accurſed. Contrary to this idolatry, blaſphemy

3. Merits.

On Heb. 6. 10.

Thankſgiving after the Communion.

4. The Sacrifice of the Maſs. *Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 6. ſub pio 4. c. 2.*

Can. 1.

and ſuperſtition; In the publick form of Adminiſtring the Sacrament, in the *Prayer (Conſecratory)* in our *Liturgy*, whereby the *Bread* and *Wine* is ſet apart for that holy uſe; The entrance is this: 'Almighty God 'our Heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didſt 'give thine only Son *Jeſus Chriſt* to ſuffer death upon 'the Croſs for our Redemption; who made *THERE*, '*BY HIS ONE OBLATION OF HIM-*'*SELF ONCE FOR ALL*, a *full*, *perfect* 'and *ſufficient ſacrifice*, *oblation* and *ſatisfaction* for the 'ſins of the whole world, and did inſtitute, and in his 'holy Goſpel command us to continue a perpetual '*MEMORY* of that his precious death, until his 'coming again. What ſhould I ſpeak of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and of the worſhipping of the Hoſt, whereas the Prayer-Book teacheth us to believe it is Bread and Wine ſtill, and to *lift up our hearts* to worſhip Chriſt in the Heavens. The defrauding of the people of one half of the Sacrament, the *Cup*; *(licèt Chriſtus poſt cœnam inſtituerit, & ſuis diſcipulis adminiſtraverit ſub utraque ſpecie panis & vini hoc venerabile ſacramentum, tamen hoc non obſtante*, &c. that is) 'though 'Chriſt inſtituted this after Supper, and adminiſtred it 'unto his Diſciples under both kinds of Bread and Wine, 'yet *this notwithſtanding*; They forbid the Prieſt to give it ſo, under the penalty of Excommunication.

Prayer before the diſtribution of the Sacrament.

Tranſubſtantiation. *Artolatria.* Communion in one kind. *Concil. Conſtant. Seſſ.* 13.

The multiplying of the Sacraments, the vitiating of Baptiſme by ſuperſtitious ceremonies, of *exorciſing*, with *Cream*, *Spittle*, &c. All which foul *Spirits* are caſt out by the *Liturgy* from our worſhip, with multitude of others. I ſhall but name one more, (that you may tell them on *your fingers*.) And that is *prayer* for the *dead*. Whereas the Church of *Rome* it ſelf doth teach, that there is no uſe of Prayer for the damned, becauſe *Purgatorium pro eis tantum eſſe, qui cum venialibus culpis moriuntur, & rurſum pro illis qui diſcedunt cum reatu pœnæ, culpis jam remiſſis:* Purgatory is for 'thoſe *only* that dye in ſmaller ſins, or in guilt of puniſh-

7. *Sacram.* Corruption of Bapt. &c.

5. Prayer for the dead. *Concil. Trid. Seſſ.* 9. *ſub p.* 4. *Decret.* 1.

Bell. de purgat. lib. 2. *cap.* 1. *ad fin.* A wiſe diſtinction.

ment,

'ment, the offence being pardoned. Now our Church 'excludeth the uſe of Prayer for any deceaſed. For thoſe who dye excommunicate, they have no ſolemn Burial. And for others who dye in the Faith and Fellowſhip of the Church, it prayeth not; but firſt profeſſeth its Faith of their happy Reſurrection. 'Foraſ-'much as it hath pleaſed Almighty God, to take unto 'himſelf the ſoul of our dear Brother here departed, we 'therefore commit his body to the ground in *ſure* and '*certain* hope of reſurrection to *eternal life*, &c. Then profeſſing againſt Purgatory, it ſaith; 'Almighty God, '*with whom do live* the ſpirits of them that depart hence 'in the Lord, and *in whom* the ſouls of them that be 'elected, after they be delivered from the burden of 'the fleſh, be in joy and felicity. Laſtly, it giveth therefore thanks: 'We give thee hearty thanks, for 'that it hath pleaſed thee to deliver this our Brother out 'of the miſeries of this ſinful world, &c. Where by the way, let it not offend, that this form is applyed to *all*. For firſt, it uſeth the word *hope*, not *knowledge*. Secondly, it is applyed only to thoſe who dye viſible members of the Church, and not excommunicated. So that *charity* doth not interpoſe its *private* judgment, where the Church hath not pronounced hers. To conclude the Br. muſt conſider, that the Liturgy was directed on purpoſe to oppoſe Popery: as was noted above. 'His Majeſty remembring with what doctrine 'the Church of *England* in her firſt and moſt happy re-'formation, did drive out the *one*, and keep out the *other*, namely, *Popery* and *Separation*, ſaith his Grace of *Cant.* And thus much in anſwer to the fifth general Exception, *viz. Popery*, *Superſtition* and the *Maſs-Book*.

Form of Burial, whilſt the earth is caſt upon the body.

The Thankſgiving before the laſt Collect at Burial.

Why the ſame form is applyed to all that are buried.

SECT. VI.

Of the Non-eſtabliſhment of the premiſes by law.

COme we to the ſixt, *viz.* That the *doctrine*, the *worſhip*, the *diſcipline* and *government* are not *eſtabliſhed by law* in this Church and Nation. This I ſhall reply unto in reference unto them all in *general* firſt, and then deſcend unto the ſeverals. And here, before I come to the matter it ſelf, I muſt take leave to ſpeak a word unto theſe *objectors*. And it ſhall be in their own Language; namely, that they are like *to give a ſad acconnt unto God*; or in a more Authentick one, that they muſt look unto it for this their writing, *As they will anſwer before God, for ſuch evils and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may juſtly puniſh his people, for neglecting this good and wholeſome Law, viz.* the Act 1 *Eliz.* 1. eſtabliſhing the form of Gods worſhip. The obedience unto which, and other (tending to the ſetling of Religion among us) hath been ſo much ſhaken by the form and appearance of truth and godlineſs, which their *Treatiſe* hath, without the power thereof, ſeemed to have. This to their perſons. Next for their *ſcope*, they expreſs it, not to be a *reformation* of the things they except at, but a plain *abolition* of them; whereas our Lord *Chriſt* (ſaith the *Cardinal* approved by a *chief* man of our own) *did not deſtroy the Temple, but only purge it. Chriſtus non deſtruxit Templum ſed repurgavit; ita eccleſiæ in quas irrepſerunt aliquot errores, abuſus, ſuperſtitiones, non ſunt convellendæ ſed repurgandæ*; So the Churches, ſaith he, 'into which 'ſome errors, abuſes and ſuperſtitions are crept, are not 'to be plucked up, but purged. But it ſeems *ubi dolor ibi digitus*; the Kitchin of the chief (ſuppoſed) Author of that Treatiſe, is like to be cooler for the late reſtitution; having loſt the Revenues of a good part of a *Biſhoprick*, as 'tis ſaid, which he had purchaſed. And it

1. The Authors of the Book intituled, Reaſons ſhewing the neeſſity of Reformation, &c.

Act for uniformity of Common-Prayer.

2. Their ſcope.

Zanch. Epiſt. ad Cardin. Lotharing ib. 2.

it may be others of these Brethren are *ejected* as they had *ejected* others. For these times are like those. *Ea tempestate, fœda facies ecclesiæ, & admodum turpis erat; non enim sicut prius ab externis, sed à propriis vastabatur. Fugabat alius, alius fugabatur, & uterque de ecclesia erat — prævaricatio erat, & lapsus & ruina multorum. Similis pœna, sed impar victoria; similiter cruciabantur, sed non similiter gloriabantur, quia dolebat ecclesia etiam illius casum, qui impellebat ad lapsum.* *Ruffin. Hist. eccl. l. 1. c. 21.*

'At that time the face of the Church was foul and uncomely indeed; for not now, as formerly, the Church 'was destroyed by enemies, but by her *own*; One is driven, the other drives him away, and both of them of 'the Church. Offences, and falls, and ruines there 'were of many. All were like sufferers, but not all like 'conquerors. All were tortured alike, but all could not 'glory alike; for the Church did lament even his fall, that 'forced another to miscarry, saith the Historian.

But to leave the men, and to come unto the matter. The premises are not established, they say, because there is *Addition*, *Detraction*, and *Alterations* made in them, since the Originals and first establishment. For Answer, we may note here a twofold distinction: 1. Of *persons*, *private* or *publick*. 2. Of *things*, *lighter* or more *material*; to apply these. If the Alterations, Additions, or Detractions alledged, be done by *private hands*, and in things of *lesser moment*, the *main* continuing unviolate; It would be better thought on, whether such a *misprision* (be it *casu* or *consilio*, unwittingly or willingly) ought to invalid a *publick act*. For then perhaps neither the Brethren have an *authentick Bible*, nor any Lawyer a true *Statute-Book*, because there are many faults do happen by the *pen*, and by the *press*, which may have happened in the things we speak of. But secondly, if such alterations, &c. be made by *publick* persons, or in things *material*; it must be considered what powers the *Laws* do give unto them in these affairs; now it is certain, and the Brethren acknowledge it,

3. Their matter.

Object. 1. Addit. Substract. Alterat.

Answ.

Misprisions in lesser things by private hands.

1.

2. In more material ones, and by publick persons.

it, that until 17 *Carol.* 11. The *King* had freedome by Law to appoint under his *Broad Seal* Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, to amend whatsoever might be reformable in the Church. And in the Act for *uniformity* of Common-Prayer at the end of it, it is granted unto the *Queen*, 'that if there shall happen any 'irreverence in the service of God, by the mis-using the 'orders appointed in the Common-Prayer-Book; she 'may by her Commissioners, or by the advice of the 'Metropolitan, ordain further rites or ceremonies for 'the advancement of the glory of God, &c. Now by this and other particular Acts, that restored *all Ecclesiastical power* from the *Pope* unto the *Crown*; And particularly by the Act of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. 'wherein having 'first united and annexed all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical 'jurisdiction to the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, (they are the words of the Brethren) it addeth what power shall be given by *commission* under the Great Seal to *exercise* the same in this following clause, *viz.* 'And 'that your Highness, your *Heirs* and *Successors*, *Kings* 'or *Queens* of this Realm, shall have full power and 'authority by vertue of this *Act*, by Letters Patents 'under the Great Seal of *England*, to assign, name 'and authorise, when, and as often as your Highness, 'your Heirs and Successors shall think meet and conve-'nient, and for such and so long time, as shall please 'your Highness, your Heirs or Successors, such person 'or persons (being natural born Subjects to your High-'ness, your Heirs or Successors) as your *Majesty*, your 'Heirs or Successors shall think meet to exercise and 'use, occupy and execute, under your Highness, your 'Heirs and Successors, all manner of *jurisdictions*, pri-'viledges and preheminencies in any wise touching or 'concerning any spiritual or *ecclesiastical jurisdiction* 'within these your Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or 'any *other* your Highness Dominions and Countries. And 'to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend 'all such errors, heresies, schismes, abuses, offences, con-

Reasons for Reform. p. 51.

Act for uniformity of Com. Prayer.

Several Acts in K. *Hen.* 8. *Edw.* 6. Q. *Eliz.* particularly that of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. Necessit. of Reform. p. 50.

tempts

'tempts and enormities whatſoever, which by any man-'ner ſpiritual or *eccleſiaſtical power*, authority or juriſ-'diction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, 'redreſſed, corrected, reſtrained, or amended, to the 'pleaſure of *Almighty God*, the increaſe of vertue, and 'the conſervation of peace and unity of this Realm. Now howſoever the Brethren would make this Act void, after the Act of 17 *Car.* 1. (of which anon) yet the things we ſpeak of being tranſacted before, remain in force by vertue of that Act. And certain it is, that not only the *Kings* themſelves; but the *Parliaments* alſo, the *Judges*, the Miniſtry, have always thought that by the *King*, ſome alterations might be made by vertue of theſe *Acts*, without violation of Law, provided nothing were *done contrary to any thing in the Book contained*, eſpecially when the King ſhall be ſupplicated by his people thereunto. Hence the King in his Proclamation for the Authorizing of the Book of Common-Prayer, by occaſion of the Conference at *Hampton Court*, (which having reflected on) ſaith: 'And for that purpoſe, (namely, to ſatisfie the ſcruples 'of ſome tender conſciences) gave forth Our Commiſ-'ſion, under Our Great Seal of *England* to the Arch-'Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and others, according to the 'form which the *LAWS* of this Realm in like caſe 'preſcribe to be uſed, to make the ſaid *EXPLA-'NATION*, &c. And it is alſo certain, that the ſame, not only *Kings* ſucceſſively, but alſo *Parliaments* and *Judges*, with all the other *Magiſtracy*, have taken all the premiſes, *viz.* The Doctrine or Articles of Religion, the *Worſhip* or *Common-Prayer-Book*, The *Diſcipline* and *Government* to be eſtabliſhed by *Law*. Or elſe how will the Brethren, or how can any other free the *Kings* from *Arbitrary* Government; the *Parliaments* from betraying the publick *liberties*; the *Judges* from perjury and *perverting* Law; and other *Magiſtrates* from *oppreſſing* of the people; if men have been puniſhed for diſobedience to theſe, if not eſtabliſhed by

Preface to the Com. Prayer Book.

Kings Proclamat. for eſtabliſhing the Book of Com. Prayer.

Law. But ſurely, we may more ſafely confide in the judgment of ſo many Acts of Parliament and *Laws*; of ſo many *Princes*, *Parliaments*, *Judges*, *Magiſtrates*, then in the conjectures of certain *Country* or *County* Miniſters, what is *Law*. The rather, becauſe this being a Prerogative (Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction) belonging to *Soveraign Princes*, is expreſly forbidden *Miniſters* to meddle with, 'further then they are preſidented in 'the *Homily* of *Obedience*, and in the reſt of the *Ho-* 'milies and *Articles* of Religion. And beſides that 'the *declaring of Law* in general is proper to the *Judg-* 'es; *for to you* (ſaith our [*] late Soveraign, ſpeaking 'to the Judges in Parliament) *only*, under me belongs 'the *interpretation* of Law.

By divers Miniſters of ſundry Counties, ſo in the title.

K. *Ja.* Inſtructions to Preachers, 1622. *Artic.* 4.

'King's Speech at the Diſſolution of the Parl. after his aſſents unto the Petition of Rights.

But Thirdly, ſhould we grant that according to the *punctilio's* and *formalities* of Law, they ſhould not be eſtabliſhed by that of the *Land*; yet the *Church* hath its Law alſo; that whatſoever is impoſed by the Governors thereof for edification, agreeable or not repugnant to the Scriptures, eſpecially if God and experience have ſet their ſeal thereunto (as the premiſes have had) and that *cuſtome* and tract of time have given them *preſcription* (which the Apoſtle after all *reaſoning* flies unto) if ſuch things ſhould be excepted againſt by others, yet doubtleſs very improperly by *thoſe*; whoſe *ſeed* of generation, and *milk* of infancy, and *ſtrong meat* of riper age, they have been in the Lord. Yea, I add and who by their *profeſſion* and *ſubſcripsion* have been particularly obliged to them. But oftentimes it cometh to paſs, that the *watchmen* themſelves, who were appointed for 'the Safeguarding of the Church, prove in this kind to 'be the ſmiters and wounders of her, ſaith the Primate of *Ireland*. And no marvel; for, *veteres ſcrutans hiſtorias, invenire non poſſum, ſcidiſſe eccleſiam, & de domo Dei populos ſeduxiſſe, præter eos, qui Sacerdotes à Deo poſiti fuerant & prophetæ, id eſt ſpeculatores.* Searching the antient Records, I cannot find, 'that any other have 'rent the Church, and have ſeduced the people from the

Note.

1 Cor. 11. 16.

1 Cor. 9. 1, 2.

Serm. before the H. Com. *Feb.* 18. 1620.

Hier. in Hoſ. 9. 8. *Tom.* 6.

houſe

'houſe of God, but they, who have been appointed 'Prieſts by God, and Prophets, that is, *Watchmen*, ſaith St. *Jerome*. I have done with the firſt Exception againſt the premiſes, *viz.* their *non-eſtabliſhment* in general.

Subſect. 1.

Articles not eſtabliſhed.

COme we now to the particular proofs of their *non-eſtabliſhment*, with replies unto them. And firſt, the *Doctrine*, or the *Articles* of Religion, they are not ſay the Brethren eſtabliſhed, becauſe neither doth the *Act* (13 *Eliz.*) *name* them in *particular*, nor ſo much as their *number*, but only the *title page*; nor is it known where the *original* is *enrolled*. Omitting what ſeveral others may have more pertinently anſwered in their replies to the Brethren, (none of which I have read) my conceptions are: Firſt, That this reflects groſs *negligence* upon the then Parliament, if they laid *that foundation* weak, upon which the whole fabrick of Religion in this Church, was to be raiſed. But Secondly, Do the Brethren imagine, that the Parliament intended to eſtabliſh *titulum ſine re*, the *title*, and leave the *matter* uncertain? Surely, not only that Parliament, but *all* ſince; The *Princes* alſo and *Judges* ever ſince have taken the Articles as now they are, to be confirmed then, and *to contain the true Doctrine of the Church of* England, who ſurely had good aſſurance that they did accord with the original. Thirdly, Again, if all Acts of State be void, whereof the *originals* are not extant, although confirmed by Act of *Parliament*; what the inference may be, I leave to the Learned in the Laws to judge; for my ſelf, I take it to be a ſuggeſtion of a very dangerous conſequence. This for the Articles.

2. Partic. Except. againſt the eſtabliſhment of the premiſes.

Anſw.

Neceſsity of Reform. p. 1, 2,

K. Declarat. before the Articles 4 *Car.* 3. 1.

Subſect. II.

Common-Prayer-Book.

NExt for the *Liturgy* or *Common-Prayer-Book*; That they ſay, is not eſtabliſhed: Firſt, becauſe it is not the ſame that was eſtabliſhed by the Parliament, 1 *Eliz.* 2. And ſecondly, becauſe if it were, yet it is not eſtabliſhed by Law, becauſe that of 1 *Eliz.* 2. it ſelf doth not appear to be eſtabliſhed neither, becauſe it is not *agreeable* to the Act, nor *annexed* to it, nor the *original* to be found. To begin with the Book of Queen *Elizabeth*, and then to come to that now in uſe. Touching the former, the Act of 1 *Eliz.* 2. touching uniformity of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, enjoyneth the uſe of that Book, with the 'allowance of *one alteration* or *addition* of *certain* Leſſons to be uſed every Sunday in the year. And the form 'of the *Letany* altered and corrected, and two ſentences only added in the delivery of the Sacraments to the 'Communicants, and none *other*, or *otherwiſe* from the Common-Prayer Book, confirmed by Parliament in the fifth and ſixth years of *Edw.* 6. Now becauſe the Book of Q. *Elizabeth* referreth to *that*, and that the alterations mentioned in *that* of Q. *Eliz.* from that of *Edw.* 6. are not *particularly* named in the Act for conformity of Common-Prayer; And becauſe the *original* Book of *Edw.* 6. is loſt, and this of Q. *Eliz. printed*, differs from that of *Edw.* 6. the Brethren infer, that the Book of Q. *Eliz.* is not eſtabliſhed, or not *evident* that it is eſtabliſhed by the *Act*. I might anſwer, That theſe being *niceties* of Law, and the alterations inſiſted on either in Q. *Eliz.* Book, or in the *preſent* one from that, not being *many*, or much *material*; And being generally received as eſtabliſhed, (the matter being godly, and preſence of *God* in the comfort and edification of his people thereby evidently approving of it;) I might, as

1. Com. Prayer Book of Q. Eliz.

Excepr.

Anſw. 1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

I ſaid, anſwer *viderint alii*, let men of skill in *Law* look to that point. But ſeeing I take their objections from Law to be eaſily anſwerable; go to, let us try their ſtrength.

The Parliament of the 1 *Eliz.* 2. did know that the former Book of 5, 6 *Edw.* 6. was aboliſhed by an Act 1 *Mar.* 2. and mention it in the Act. And that the *Original* was taken off the Parliament Roll, and ſo *loſt*. They did not think it neceſſary notwithſtanding this, either to name particularly the alterations made, or to annex the Book unto their Act. Now the Q. and Parl. did judge that they had done enough to eſtabliſh the Book; the Brethren affirm not. Wherein, if they were right in their matter, yet not in their modeſty. But they are amiſs there alſo. For the Parl. knowing the Book of *Edw.* 6. to have been in all Churches, and in every mans hand; and themſelves allowing, *not the original*, which was loſt, but the *printed* ones, with the alterations they mention; it was moſt eaſie for any man to find, by comparing the Books printed by this *Act* with thoſe of *Edw.* 6. *which* were the alterations the Parl. having named where they were, and concerning what. But becauſe by this it appears according to the judgment of theſe Brethren, that the Q. and theſe Parl. then, were in matter of the greateſt moment) the eſtabliſhing of the *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, *Articles* and *Liturgy* of *Almighty God*, and means of the ſalvation of men;) either ſo *ignorant*, that they underſtood not what was requiſite, to the full eſtabliſhment of their own *Acts*; or ſo *negligent*, that they minded it not as they ſhould; And ſeeing all the *Kings* and *Parliaments* ſince have ſwallowed their error; As alſo all the *Judges* of the Land, who do not only ſit in Parliam. to give advice, but alſo have judged in their ſeveral Circuits the violations of thoſe Books; And becauſe the preſent and future Parliaments may be ſubject to the like miſcarriages; may it be prevented in a better way, then by the Parliam. reſtoring to the *Clergy* the liberty of being

1. Q. *Eliz.* Liturgy eſtabliſhed.

ing elected *Burgesses*? (loſt, as I take it, but in *Henry* the 8 th. his time) and ſo the Brethren may obtain places in the Houſe of Commons, and the Parliament enjoy the benefit of their *guidance*.

2. To their inſtances particular, in their printed ſheet of alterations in the firſt printed book of Queen *Elizabeth*, from that of *Edward 6. viz.* certain *Saints days* in the *Kalender*, but in *black* letters, inſtead of others that were named in that of *Edw. 6.* Secondly, certain Leſſons of the *Apocrypha* appointed to be read, inſtead of ſome out of the *Canonical* Scripture, which were before appointed in the book of *Edw. 6.* For anſwer to both theſe, firſt, in general we have heard above, to which I refer the reader. Next, in particular, to that of the *Saints days*, it doth not ſeem to hazzard the bringing in of new Holy-days; both becauſe as the brethren acknowledge, they are ſet down in *black* letters, thoſe to be kept Holy-days in *red*; but eſpecially becauſe the number of Holy-days is *ſtinted*, they are ſet down by *name* in the Liturgy, and a *prohibition* of any other to be kept; ſo that as long as the book remains as now it is, there can be no peril of that. It may be the change of names was, becauſe the days now put in, might be days of *payment* of mony, or days of *Law*, or perhaps *unworthy* perſons names put out, and better put in their room, as Mr. *Fox* did in that Kalender of his *Martyrology*. But this, whatſoever it be, makes no alteration in the *Service*, or in the *reading*. Yea, but the alteration of the Chapters does. To that therefore I ſay, that this alteration was done either *caſu* and by chance, or *conſilio* and of purpoſe. And then either by *privat* hands, or by *publick* authority, by the Queen, or Commiſſioners from her, according to the clauſe in this *Act*, authoriſing her for explanations. In all which reſpects; I refer unto the general anſwer afore-going. But more particularly. They might be altered upon ſome ſuch ſuggeſtions, as was made afterward by the Brethrens Anceſtors (*modeſtly*) at the Conference of *Hampton-Court*, of which afterwards.

2. 1559.

1 Saints days.

1.

2.

2. Apocryphal chapters.

2.

To

To the Second. The book of Common-prayer as it *now ſtands* as eſtabliſhed, which the Brethren oppoſe, as differing from that of Queen *Elizabeth*, in *alterations*, *detractions*, and *additions*. For anſwer, firſt, in general. We muſt reflect on what hath been ſaid above, *viz.* That ſuch *alterations* as have been made by *Royal* authority, by commiſſion under the great Seal, being made but for *explanations* ſake, and containing nothing contrary to any thing in the book contained, doth not derogate from the authority and *eſtabliſhment* of the book; but ſuch alterations are *confirmed*, ſuch power being yielded to the Kings of this Nation by the *Laws*. 'And for that 'purpoſe gave forth Our *Commiſſion* unders Our *Great* 'Seal of *England* to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, 'and others, according to the form, which the *LAWS* 'of this Realm, in like caſe preſcribed to be uſed, to 'make the ſaid *EXPLANATION*, &c. ſaith the *King*, upon occaſion of the alterations made at the Inſtance of the Brethrens predeceſſors, at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*.

2. Book of Common-prayer, as it now ſtands eſtabliſhed.

1.

K. *James* Proclamation for uniformity of Com. prayer.

But to come unto particulars, firſt, to the *Alterations*. That of Holy-days hath been replyed unto, as alſo that of Apocryphal Chapters. To which I add, 'That it can-'not be reaſonably thought, that we do thereby offer diſ-'grace unto the *word of God*. For in ſuch choice we do 'not think, but that *fitneſs* of ſpeech, may be more re-'ſpected than worthineſs of matter. But this alteration whatſoever it were; was made, as by the authority of the King, ſo it ſeems by the occaſion of Dr. *Reynolds* anotations: For the King ſaid; 'That Dr. *Reynolds* ſhould 'note thoſe chapters in the Apocrypha books, where 'thoſe offenſive places were, and bring them. But why do the Brethren appear now ſo zealous for the reading of the Scripture, which they had almoſt laid aſide in the publick worſhip, for their own *traditions*, *i. e.* for what they thought better, to *deliver* unto the people.

1. Alterations in the Liturgy.

R. Hook. eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 20.

By whoſe means the Apocryphal chapters were altered.

Conf. Hamp. Court, p. 63. Matth. 15.

3. As for the alterations made for explanations ſake, by the King, at the ſuit of the *Non-conformiſts* at that Conference

K. *James* explanation of the preſent Liturgy.

Conference (now made violations of the Statute, and *eſſential* alterations of the book) they were not in any part of the *ſubſtance* of the book it ſelf, not in any *prayer*, or *Exhortation*, and ſo in no *one* point either of *Doctrine* or *Worſhip* (let the Reader note againſt the calumnies inſinuated by theſe Brethren) but onely in ſome *two or three* words in the old *Tranſlation* of the Goſpels; And in a few *Rubricks*, which are directions for the ſervice. The words altered in the *Goſpels* ('wherein the 'ſteps of the Latine-ſervice-book have been ſomewhat 'too nearly followed) they are theſe. 1. 'And *Jeſus ſaid* 'to them, to be put *twice* into the Dominical Goſpels, 'inſtead of, Jeſus ſaid to his *Diſciples*. Though at the Conference it was anſwered, 'That for ought that could 'appear by the places, he might ſpeak as well to his 'Diſciples as to the *Phariſees*. The *alterations* in the *Rubricks* are. 1. Before the general Abſolution is put: or *Remiſſion* of ſins, which before was onely *Abſolution*. 2. In private Baptiſm, the *lawful Miniſter preſent*; before it was, then they *miniſter* it. 3. In the ſame Rubrick: they *procure not* their children to be baptiſed; before it was, they baptize not children. 4. In that before *Confirmation*: *Examination*, with Confirmation of children, it was appointed, but I do not find it was done. So that as the alterations of the words of the old Tranſlation were but *two*; ſo theſe in the *Rubricks* are but *three*. And none of them in the very *Text* of the Liturgy it ſelf.

Not any alteration in the matter of the Liturgy.

Hook. eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 19.

Conf. Hamp. Court. p. 86.

Ibid. pag. 63.

Ibid. pag. 86.

2. Detractions from the Liturgy.

The ſecond variation of the preſent book, from that of Queen *Elizabeth*, are *detractions*, or takings away. But *God* wot they are ſcarce a number, but *two*, and the *preſent* Book innocent of them, being both made in that of Queen *Elizabeth*. The one is a *Rubrick* (mark, nothing of the *ſubſtance* and Text, but a Rubrick onely) after the Communion, containing an explication in what ſenſe *kneeling* is enjoyned at the Communion. And the Brethren ſay 'tis an *excellent and ſolid one*, and ſo it is: but will they then now kneel? Firſt, *negatively*, it ſaith, 'That

Kneeling at the Communion explain'd.

'That the kneeling is not to the Bread and Wine, for they 'remain Bread and Wine ſtill. Secondly, Nor to any '*real and eſſential Preſence* there being, of Chriſts na- 'tural fleſh and blood, for they are in heaven and not 'here. But ſecondly and *poſitively*, this geſture of kneel- 'ing is for ſignification of the *thankful* acknowledgment 'of the benefits of Chriſt, given unto the worthy Re- 'ceiver, and to avoid *prophaneneſs*. Now I ſuppoſe this Rubrick might be omitted in the Liturgy, as being rather a *Canon* than a Rubrick. Theſe ſerving chiefly for direction, how the worſhip is to be performed: Not ſo properly for explication, though ſome of the Rubricks alſo do explain. But none of them the chief Ceremonies, as the *Surpliſs*, or the *Croſs* in Baptiſm; and therefore the expoſition of theſe being omitted, the other might be thought fit alſo to be left out, which would elſe have occaſioned the addition of the explication of them alſo, and of others, to the occaſioning of diſputes rather than *devotion*, it being not ſo needful to explain there, the Orthodox doctrine in this point being laid down in the *Articles*, and in the *Homilies*. The explanation of *Rites* being thought fit for the *Canons*, as in ours the explication of the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, and of bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*.

Reaſ. for Reform. *Ed.* 2. pag. 3. of the inſerted ſheet.

Artic. 28. Homil. of the receiving the Sacrament. Can. 30. Can. 18.

But ſecondly, this appears, that this Rubrick doth ſeem *not* to be appointed by *Parliament*. For if you obſerve the firſt Edition of the Common-prayer-book of 5, 6 *Edw.* 6. (which is done in very good paper and print, the next being in worſe, as is uſual in ſecond Editions of books) you ſhall ſee room enough vacant in the *left* page to have received that Rubrick, but that is left bare, and the Rubrick is printed in a leaf by it ſelf, and *paſted* on; which is further cleared by the *Errata* in the firſt edition, the ſecond having none. In that firſt edition, the Rubrick is printed after all the Rubricks, in the other it is in order at *n.* 3. in another between *n* and *o*. which ſhews, that it came after the book was printed off, and ſo not in that paſſed by

2.

Obſerved as we were viewing, by my worthy friend, Mr. *Tho. Smith*, keeper of the publick Library at *Cambr.*

by the Act. Now then, not being eſtabliſhed by the *Act*, as it ſeems the Parliament of 1 *Eliz.* knew, they might omit it, and yet not be guilty of detractions from the Book. The next omiſſion is, a prayer to be uſed in times of *dearth* and *famine*. But ſeeng it cont ins no other matter for doctrine, but what is in the prayer yet ſtanding for that occaſion. (The former draws an argument to prevail with God, from the *miracle* wrought by *Eliſha* in the famine of *Samaria*. And the latter yet ſtanding, from the general courſe of Gods *providence*, and from his goodneſs, which ſurely are more immediate grounds of faith.) It is not at all material, eſpecially ſeeing the omiſſion might be from the *Preſs*, and not from the *Prelates*. Now theſe two are the onely *detractions* of the book from that of King *Edward*, but neither of them chargeable upon the *preſent*, but on the Book of Queen *Elizabeth*, which this follows. It appears from the *premiſes*, that we have *all* the *Liturgy* that was eſtabliſhed, *Text*, *Subſtance*, and *Circumſtance*, as in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and that Book of hers *all* that the other had, except theſe immaterial omiſſions of one Rubrick not eſtabliſh'd, and of one Prayer, another more pertinent ſtill remaining, two for the ſame thing in this caſe and place being not thought ſo neceſſary. Though *all* now in the Liturgy be not by that act eſtabliſhed, which leads me to the laſt head of Exceptions againſt the preſent Book, *viz.* the additions.

A prayer omitted.

2 King. 7.

3. Additions to the Liturgy.

The Additions. For anſwer in the general, I refer unto what was ſaid above. Secondly, in particular. Theſe *additions* are not annexed as *part* of the Book that the Act eſtabliſhed. But either as explanations of it, which, as we heard above, the King hath power to do. As are the *Queſtions* and *Anſwers* added to the *Catechiſm*, at the *ſuit* of the *Non-conformiſts*, at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*: Or they are certain neceſſary *Prayers*, for the *Kings relations*, which muſt be variable according to times, and the ſtate of the *Royal Family*; and ſo not to be eſtabliſhed neceſſarily by *Parliament*, but put into this Common-

Conf. Hamp. Court, p. 43.

Common-prayer-book becauſe of daily uſe with it; yet not made *parts* of it, and therefore not altering what was eſtabliſhed by the Act. No more then the printing of the *Kings Proclamation* for uniformity before it, is part of the Book, or then divers *godly prayers* at the end, deviſed by ſome good men.

But to come to the particulars. The *Prayers* and the *Queſtions* in the Catechiſm; both which the Brethren acknowledge to be *uſeful*, though with ſome particular exceptions againſt a queſtion or two. The Prayers added to the Book of King *Edward*, are one for the *Queen* or *King*, another for the *Biſhops*, a third for *Queen Anne* and the Royal Progeny; which the Brethren acknowledge to be *uſeful and neceſſary*. They acknowledge alſo, that in the Catechiſm, ſomewhat of that kind to be *uſeful* and *neceſſary*, though not that model. To collect then and conclude. It appears, that we have the Book *now* as eſtabliſhed in Queen *Elizabeths* time, without *alteration*. 1 Except ſome odd days ſet down under other names. 2 Alſo perhaps ſome few Chapters altered in the *Kalender*. 3 *Two words* chang'd in the old Tranſlation. 4 And three or four *Rubricks* or directions *explained*. And all theſe, except the firſt (names of days) at the requeſt of the *Non-conformiſts*, the Brethrens Predeceſſors in theſe exceptions. And no *detraction* of any *Rubrick*, or *Prayer*, or *Exhortation*, or *line*, or *word*, (in the *text* of the Book or otherwiſe) but of a Rubrick about kneeling that ſeems not to be eſtabliſhed by Parliament; and of one Prayer againſt famine, not of any conſequence; with the addition of ſome uſeful prayers, and ſome *Queſtions* and *Anſwers*, neceſſary for the enlarging and explication of the *Catechiſm*; but not as part of the Book. But all this, ſo as that no *Article* of the Confeſſion, no point of *Doctrine*, no part of *Worſhip* is altered. And yet the Brethren have raiſed ſuch a *hue and cry*, as if the later *Biſhops*, yea, and *Princes*, not excepting Queen *Elizabeth*, had a deſign to corrupt the *Articles*, to poiſon the *Worſhip*, to impoſe *uneſtabliſhed* things upon the *conſcience*

1. Prayers.

pag. 28.

pag. 30.

and *liberty* of the Subject, and to punish men for disobedience thereunto. As if all Religion were pessundated, and

Omnia in pejus ruere, & retro sub'apsa referri.

All goes to ruine, *Thames* to *Tyber* flows,
Th' *Assembly* to a *Convocation* grows.

As if, as *Pauls*, by the Brethrens fautors, so the whole Church were like to be an *Augean Stable*. Well spake *Tertullian* of their fathers: *Scripturas obtendunt, & hac suâ audacia statim quosdam movent: in ipso verò congressu firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt.* 'They pretend *Scripture*, saith he, and by 'this their confidence, they presently move some. In 'disputation they trouble those that are *strong*, they take 'the *weak*, and send away the *middle* sort with doubting. I conclude, that notwithstanding the exceptions of the Brethren; the *Common-prayer-book*, as well as the *Articles, is established by Act of Parliament*. And that therefore, 'If any manner of *Parson, Vicar*, or other what-'soever *Minister* ——— shall *preach, declare*, or *speak* 'any thing, in the derogation or depraving of the said 'said Book, or any thing therein contained, or any part 'thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit &c. I have done with the second Head of Objections, *viz.* The establishing of the Liturgy and Worship.

Prescript. adv. Heres. non longè ab initio.

Act for uniformity of Com. prayer.

Subsect. 3.

Discipline established.

Object. I Come to that against the third, the *Discipline*, which they say is not established neither. They instance in the Episcopal *Courts* and *Canons*, the first whereof is *Juris-*

The discipline not establish'd

Juriſdiction. Now the *Biſhops* are of age, let them ſpeak for themſelves. One of them, and the greateſt in his time, doth acknowledge, 'That they exerciſe their ju-'riſdiction in their *Courts*, by vertue of the *Laws*, and 'Commiſſions *Royal* onely. The next (in the ſame rank) goes farther, and upon occaſion of ſuch calumny makes it his *ſuit* unto the King: 'and I do humbly, in 'the *Churches* name, deſire your Majeſty, that it may 'be reſolved by all the reverend *Judges* of *England*, 'and then publiſhed by your Majeſty, that our keeping 'Courts, and iſſuing Proceſs in our own names, and the 'like exceptions * formerly taken, and now renewed, 'are not againſt the *Laws* of this Realm, as 'tis moſt 'certain they are not. Thus far he. What can indifferent men deſire more, then an appeal to *all* the legal *Interpreters* (the Judges) of that Law, which they are ſaid to violate; and to the ſupreme *Judge*, and ſpring-head thereof, the *King*. This for their *Courts*. As for the *Canons*. Becauſe the *King-craft* of that Prince which did confirm them (as himſelf calls it) is herein queſtion'd; as if he underſtood not what did *touch* his own *prerogative* and the *Laws*; for he by his *Authority* under the Broad-*Seal* confirmed thoſe Canons. I ſhall not take upon me the vindication of ſo great a Perſon, ſeeing he hath a *Grandſon and Succeſſor*, our preſent *Soveraign*, to do it for him, at whoſe feet and the Laws I ſhall let that lie; the rather, becauſe that point is like very ſhortly to be determined by publick authority. So much for Diſcipline.

Anſw.

Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* againſt *T. Cartwright.*

Biſhops Courts.

Lord *Cant.* ſpeech at the cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwick*, &c. in the Preface.

* Namely, by *T. Cartwright* and others.

The Canons of the Church, K. *James.*

Subſect 4.

Of Government Epiſcopal.

The laſt is *Government*, *Epiſcopal* namely; and here, *illis adhæret aqua*; 'Themſelves acknowledge and 'cite the Act, ſaying, *That whereas the holy Church of* 'England

25 *Edw.* 3. *Ann.* 1350. Neceſſity of Reform. p. 40.

'*England* was *FOUNDED* in the estate of *PRE-*
'*LACY*, within the said Realm of *England*, by the said
'Grandfather (*Edw.* 1.) and his Progenitors, and the
'Earls and other Nobles of his said Realm, and their An-
'cestors, to inform them, and the people, in the Law of
'God, &c. This then is granted to be according to the constitutions of this Nation, *Legal*, which is moreover known to all by this: That all *Acts of Parliament* since that foundation, have given the precedency of Baronship unto the Bishops; the form usually being, *The Kings Majesty, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, doth enact, &c.* Nay, but though *Episcopacy* was established by *Law*, yet it is not so now. For the Act of 17 *Car.* 1. 11. repeating the clause of the Act of 1 *Eliz.* 1. which instals the Queen and her Successors with power of *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, the onely ground of the Bishops authority and jurisdiction, and repealing that clause, did, besides the taking away their Votes in Parliament, take also away their *power*, *authority*, and *jurisdiction*, and so the very office it self of *Episcopacy*; whereupon the Ordinance of Lords and Commons makes all their grants void since 17 *Car.* 1. because then their *Office* expired.

Object.

17 *Car. cap.* 1. Office of Episcopacy ceased.

Reasons for necessity of Reform. p. 51, 52, 53.

Answ. 1. For answer, first in general, That it was neither in the purpose, nor (to speak as the thing is) in the power (with due observance be it uttered) of either *Parliament* or *Prince* to take away the powers which are *essential*, and unseparable from the Crown and *Office* of a *King*, which we see of right to have belonged, and with praise to have been executed, not onely in the Scripture, both by *Jewish* and *Heathenish* Princes, (as by *Nebuchadnezzar*, by *Cyrus*, by *Darius*, by the King of *Ninive*, &c. as well as by *David*, *Jehosophat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*) but also in the primitive Church, by *Constantine* and others after him. Besides, we may not conceive the *Parliament* intended to countervene an expres Article of the *Confession* of this Church, which having named the Queens Majesty, saith, 'Unto whom the chief government

Dan. 3. 29. Ezr. 6. Jon. 2.

2.

Artic. 37. of the Civil Magistrate.

'vernment of *all* eſtates of this Realm, whether they be 'Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in *all* cauſes doth appertain—— 'That—— prerogative which we ſee to have been gi- 'ven always to all godly Princes in holy *Scripture*, by 'God himſelf. And in particular, that it was not the purpoſe of the King, or the two Houſes, as *then* they were to take away the *office* and ordinary juriſdiction of *Epiſcopacy*, appears evidently, in that the King he aſſerts it to be a main cauſe of the war, and of his own calamity, for that he would not conſent thereunto. 'How 'oft (ſaith the King) was the buſineſs of the *Biſhops*, in- 'joying their antient places, and undoubted privileges 'in the *Houſe* of *Peers*, carried for them by far the '*major* part of *Lords*. Yet after *five* repulſes, contrary 'to all order and *ouſtom*, it was by tumultuary inſtiga- 'tion obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt 'of the *Peers* were forced to abſent themſelves. In like 'manner was the Bill againſt root and branch brought 'on by tumultuary clamours, and ſchiſmatical terrors, 'which could never paſs till both Houſes were ſufficiently *thinned* and *over-awed*. To which partiality, 'while (in all reaſon, juſtice, and religion) my conſcience 'forbids me by conſenting, to make up their Votes to 'Acts of Parliament, I muſt now be urged with 'an *Army*, and conſtrained either to hazard my own, 'and my Kingdoms ruine by my defence; or proſtrate 'my conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, 'whoſe zealous *ſuperſtition* thinks, or pretends they can- 'not do *God* and the Church a greater ſervice, than ut- 'terly to deſtroy that *Primitive*, *Apoſtolical*, and *anti- 'ently Univerſal* government of the Church by Biſhops. And the King hath the like complaint * elſe-where. So that we ſee what was the mind and affection, the ſcope and intent of the King and the two Houſes, as then when that Act paſſed touching Epiſcopacy. Whence it will follow, that as they had no intention, nor ever conſented to the Bill for it, to deſtroy the office; ſo neither did the Commons think that it was ſo, by that Act of taking away

3.

Ei kon. Baſilic. Med. 9.

Biſhops Votes in Parliam.

Bill againſt Epiſcopacy.

A cauſe of the War, defence of Epiſcopacy.

* Kings declaration to all his loving ſubjects, *Aug.* 12. 1642. p. 8. print *Cambr.*

away their votes, or by recalling of the former clauſe of 1 *Eliz.* 1. touching *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*: for then they would not have prepared another Act for it, which never paſſed the Houſes whilſt full, nor the Kings aſſent afterward, and ſo is no Law. It remaineth therefore, that the intention of the *Parliament* in the repealing of that *clauſe*, was onely in reference unto *the High-commiſſion Court*, or other *excentrical* from the *legal* juriſdiction of *Biſhops*, and raiſed onely by the *Kings prerogative*, yet of *uſe* whilſt eſtabliſhed; but removed, not for its unprofitableneſs, as to prevent ſome greater inconvenience. It was their *juriſdiction* in thoſe caſes, and upon ſuch ſpecial commiſſion from the King, that there ceaſed, not their ordinary, legal, and *per ſe* Epiſcopal power of government in this Church. * As hath been of late more authentically evidenced, even before this was printed. As for the *Ordinance*, that, eſpecially at that time, as it could at no time, cannot countervene a ſetled *Law*. Neither have the Houſes power to declare any thing againſt Law, as we heard above. For cloſe therefore, I repeat that ſuit of his; and do humbly in the Churches name, deſire of his *Majeſty*, that it may be reſolved, 'not onely by all 'the Reverend *Judges* of *England*, but by his *Maje-* 'ſty, and both *Houſes of Parliament*, and then publiſh- 'ed by them, that the *Doctrine and Articles of Religi-* 'on, the *Liturgy and Worſhip*, the *Diſcipline and Govern-* 'ment, are not againſt, or beſides the Laws of this Realm. 'That ſo the *Church-Governors* may go on cheerfully in 'their duty, and the *peoples* minds be quieted, by this *aſ-* 'ſurance, that neither the *Laws*, nor their *Liberties*, are 'infringed as Subjects thereby.

* By Act of this preſent Parliament for reſtoring Epiſcopal juriſdiction.

4.

Lord *Cant.* ſpeech *ubi ſupra.*

A ſupplication to his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament.

SECT. VII.

Of the Obligation of the League and Covenant.

AGain, it is objected, that there is an engagement for the Reformation of the *Doctrine*, *Worship*, *Aſſemblies*, *Diſcipline* and *Government* in the ſolemn *League* and *Covenant*; therefore they are not to be adhered unto.

Subſect. 1.

That the Covenant obligeth not.

OMitting the elaborate and excellent pains of the Univerſity of *Oxford* in this argument; as alſo that of the Profeſſors of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*; And of the *Biſhop of Down* in *Ireland*, (the teſtimony of the *three* Kingdoms againſt it) I ſhall propound only *four* Arguments to evince, firſt, the *nullity of its obligation*; and then from thence collect what it *binds* yet unto. The Arguments touching the former are: Firſt, from the *nature* and *order* of this Oath. The ſecond from the *power* impoſing of it; The third from the *matter* of the oath it ſelf; The laſt from the *ſcope and end* of its framing and impoſing. Firſt, from the *nature* and *order* of this Oath. When there are *two* oaths touching the *ſame* things, and they *contradictory* one to another; if the *former be lawful* and obliging, the latter cannot be ſo too, but void and null, *ipſo facto*. Hence it is, that *our Apoſtle* proveth the invalidity of the *Ceremonial Law* and Covenant being different from, and in ſome ſort oppoſite to the Covenant of *Grace*, becauſe it was made four hundred years after, and ſo could not make the

Reaſons of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, concerning the Covenant, 1647.

Duplies of the profeſſors of *Aberdeen*, to the Brethr. concerning the Covenant, 1638.

Dr. *Leſly* Biſh. of *Down* in his Viſitation ſpeech, *Lond.* 1638.

1. Argument Becauſe it is oppoſite to & after other Oaths, &c. Gal. 3. 14, 18.

other void. So this Oath and Covenant, whereof we now ſpeak, being contradictory (as ſhall be ſeen, and is evident of it ſelf) to former *lawful Oaths* and Engagements confirmed by the *Laws* of the Kingdome, (as the Oath of *Allegiance*, *Supremacy*, *Canonical Obedience*, *Subſcriptions* to the three *Articles*, and *Proteſtations*) cannot make thoſe former of none effect; and is therefore void being taken, as it was unlawful to take it, unleſs the Obligation of the former Oaths and Engagements had been by the *ſame*, or *ſuperiour* power relaxed.

Sleid. Com. l. 18 Ad Ann. 1547. As was done by *Hermannus* Archbiſhop of *Cullen* to his ſubjects, when he was no longer able to protect them. Which was not our caſe. Our former Oaths and Engagements were agreeable to Law and Equity, both in their *matter* and *authority* injoyning them. This contradictory to them, and by an *inferiour* power, yea, by ſuch a power as had *not* authority to do it; which brings me to the *ſecond* Argument; namely, taken from the *power*, or rather the *impotency* of the impoſers, as to this act. It is proved above, that in the Government, the *King is Supreme* by the Laws. But if he were but equal; yet in a *coordinate* power; if when one deſires to do his duty, and is well *able* thereunto; the other ſhall exclude him, and act in oppoſition, not only to him, but alſo to the *Laws* eſtabliſhed by *all*; and impoſe upon the Subjects, who are not obliged but as it proceeds from *all*; to ſubmit and to accept of ſuch impoſitions, if voluntarily, is a threefold iniquity and *injuſtice*.

2. Arg. Becauſe it was impoſed by unſufficient power, in oppoſition to the lawful authority.

1. Firſt, Unto the perſon *excluded* againſt his will
2. and right. Secondly, Againſt the *liberty* of the Subject, who is not liable to injunctions proceeding from ſome,
3. but all. Thirdly, Againſt the *priviledge* of that body and government, which is, that *every member* and *ſtate of it* is to act *together with the reſt*. For the perſon now excluded, may perhaps afterward by power or policy get the power to him, and then exerciſe that *arbitrary* power on the other and the people, without the tother. Now apply this: If the two Houſes (ſuppoſing them

to

to be ſuch) have power to impoſe Oaths under penalties upon the people; then hath the *King* and *Lords* without the *Commons*; and the *King* and *Commons* without the *Lords*. By which it appeareth, that voluntary taking of ſuch an Oath, doth betray the Prerogative of the King, the priviledge of Parliam. and the liberty of the people. Seeing two powers, if coordinate, cannot countervene, what is done and eſtabliſhed for Law by all, (much leſs where one is Supreme to the other two) So that the former Oaths and Proteſtations, engaging for the maintenance of the *Kings Prerogative*, the *priviledges* of *Parliam.* and the *liberties of the Subject*; makes this Oath and Covenant come clearly within the Verge of *Perjury* (ſo far as I can underſtand) as well as *Treachery*, to all the three premiſed intereſts. Yea, and is expreſly againſt the *great Charter*, which provides, that *no Act of Parliament binds the Subjects of this Land without the aſſent of the King, either for perſon, lands, goods, or fame.* To conclude this argument, from the power impoſing it: *Principes ſi non habent juſtum Principatum, ſed uſurpatum; vel ſi injuſta præcipiant, non tenentur eis ſubdita obedire, niſi forte per accidens, propter vitandum ſcandalum vel periculum:* 'Governours, if they have not a *lawful* power, but an *uſurped* one; or if they command unrighteous things; 'the people are not bound unto obedience, unleſs perhaps by accident, for the avoiding of ſcandal, or of 'danger, ſaith *Aquinas*. The *former* part of which caſes hath been evidenced here, the *latter* ſhall be proved in the next. Thirdly, From the *matter* of this Oath and Covenant. And firſt, the *doubtfulneſs* of it; not to inſiſt upon that clauſe of ſwearing to preſerve the Religion of the Church of *Scotland* in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government; whereas very few do underſtand what theſe are in *Scotland*, and ſo ſwear to they know not what. For, it may be, there are *errors* in their Doctrine, *Superſtition* in their Worſhip, defect or *tyranny* in their *Government*, for ought many know,

9 H. 3. *Magna Charta. Jud. Jenk. Vindic. pag. 6.*

Aquin. 2. 2. Q. 104. Art. 6. ad tertium.

3. Arg. From the matter of the Covenant.

1. Doubtful.

which if ſo, they ſwear here to preſerve them, ſo it be againſt the common enemy. The ſame might be ſaid for the *priviledge* of the Parliam. both theirs and ours, and *liberties* of the Kingdoms. Secondly, the *equivocation* of it. For this, I ſhall inſiſt only on that clauſe in the ſame firſt Article: *According to the Word of God and example of the beſt Reformed Churches.* For it intends, either that *Scotlands* Reform. is according to *the Word of God and the example of the beſt Reformed Churches*; or is it ſelf ſuch an example. But *Englands* not. Now to colour this, it *equivocally* put in that clauſe, as repreſenting that they meant only according to the *Word of God.* For proof of this; When the *Covenant* was firſt publiſhed and began to be preſſed, my ſelf having, with many others, doubt that the intention was to oblige us to the Diſcipline and Government of *Scotland*; I addreſſed my ſelf to two perſons moſt eminent in their ſeveral relations, and as I thought, beſt able to reſolve me. The former acknowledged that his own ſcruples were the ſame with mine, but that he had given himſelf up unto the *Proteſtant* Religion, and thereupon had taken it. The other told me, that they did not particularly engage unto any Diſcipline or Government, but according to the *Word of God*, as it was in the Covenant; with this *gilding*, the *pill* went down. But ſoon after, the *Scotiſh* Government, &c. was preſſed by vertue of the *Covenant*, which made me then, or ſince, reflect on that of the Apoſtle: whatſoever is not of faith, that is, of a mans *own perſwaſion* ſome way, is ſin. According to that of one of the Rabbins: *Although thou haſt ſix hundred adviſers, yet neglect not the counſel of thine own ſoul.* And that of our late *Soveraign* to 'His *Majeſty* that now is: Never (ſaith he) repoſe ſo 'much upon any mans *ſingle* counſel, fidelity and diſ-'cretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, that 'is, matters of *Religion* and *Juſtice*; as to create in 'your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of your *own* judg-'ment; which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and

2. Equivocation.

Mr. *Th. G.* Mr. *Al. Henderſ.*

Rom. 14. *ult.*

Apud Druſium in Proverb. Rabb.

Icon Baſilic. Medit. 27.

'and impartial to the intereſt of Your Crown and 'Kingdoms, than any mans. And a grave Divine, and good Caſuiſt of our own, hath in giving direction for light in difficult caſes, this expreſſion: 'Where we 'have cauſe to think, that we have uſed better means in 'the ſearch of grounds, and are more free from partial 'affections than others, there we may uſe our own advice more ſafely; otherwiſe what we do by conſent 'from others is more ſecure, &c. Not amiſs therefore did he complain that; *plerique mortales animi ſui naturam, & ingenium parvipendentes*, &c. *eſt enim ſapientis ſolius Spiritum Dei in ſe inveniſſe*: 'Moſt men are 'ignorant of, and do undervalue their own endowments 'and judgments; becauſe it is the part only of a wiſe 'man to find the mind of the Spirit of God, which is in 'him, and what he prompts us to. A third evil in the matter of the Covenant is *its injuriouſneſs* unto the *Church of England*, and that in three reſpects: Firſt, in regard of its *honour*. It being not only the *Miſtreſs* Kingdom to that of *Scotland* (this being a *feudatory* of it; and the Kings of *England* having a juſt *title* thereunto, as (amongſt others) *Nic. Bodrugan* proves unto *Edward* the ſixt.) But alſo is the *elder ſiſter*, and perhaps in ſome ſort a *mother* to it in Chriſt. As having been *in the Faith before it*. And not only receiving it firſt, but ſealing it with *ten* bloods of its Martyrs, to *one* in *Scotland*, ſo far as I have learned; But now as it ſeems being old, muſt *ſtep* as the younger ſiſter or daughter ſhall pleaſe to *lead* it. Secondly, it eminently injureth the Ch. of *England*, in reſpect of *truth of Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Government* and *Diſcipline*; inſinuating plainly, that it is rotten in the head and *foundation* of Doctrine, in the *heart* and life of Worſhip, in the *nerves* and ſinews of Diſcipline, and in the *bones* and ſtrength of Government; which no true Son of the Church of *England*, can without indignation reflect on. Thirdly, it ſtriketh at the very *beeing and ſafety* of it. For firſt, this will both nouriſh and breed *Papiſts* and *Separatiſts*, when

Dr. *Sibbs* Souls Conſl. &, *cap.* 17. *pag. edit.* 1. 366.

Sym. Gryneus Ep. ded. ante novum orbem Baſil. 1555.

3. Injuriouſneſs to the Church of *England*.

Nich. Bodrugan, alias Adams, of the King of *Engl.* title to the Crown of *Scotland*, *Lond.* 1546. Though denyed by *W. Barclay*, *Contr. Monarchomach.*

when they ſhall conſider, that by this Oath we have acknowledged that there is *no one part, wholly ſound in this Church*; but that from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot, there are wounds, ſores and putrifying corruptions. And being the expreſſions are *indefinite*, they cannot tell *what* in *any part* is ſound; nor know what to cleave unto, and ſo are prepared for apoſtacy from it, or confirmed therein. 4. This Covenant ſweareth a Schiſme, and is an *unjuſt* Oath, as it is *injurious* and *oppreſſive*, to the *Government* of this *Church* and the expreſs *Law* whereby it is eſtabliſhed, to wit, *Epiſcopacy* (not to inſiſt on the ranking of it with *Popery* and *Superſtition.*) The *Church of* England *is founded in Prelacy, ſaith the Laws.* Of which before. And the *King* in his *Oath* ſwears to defend the *Rights of this Church.* Yea, this *order* is by the Laws (in force before 17 *Car.* 11.) the very *next* the King himſelf in Parliam. for ſo the ſtyle runneth, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporall.* The right of *Epiſcopacy* out of *Scripture, Antiquity* and the late *Reformers*, hath been ſhewed before; and out of the *Law* of *England* alſo. Now to ſwear againſt *a main point of the Law of the Land*, wherein we have the ſuffrage of the *whole Church*; and againſt *that order* of men both *under which*, and *by influence whereof*, we firſt received the *Goſpel*; and *ſeveral* whereof ſealed it, in oppoſition to Popery and Superſtition, with *their blood*, (Five Biſhops being burned, *viz. Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Cant. Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, *Hooper* and *Latimer* Biſhops of *Glouceſter* and *Worteſter*, and *Ferrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids*) is ſuch a piece of *unchriſtianity*, *injuſtice* and *ingratitude*, yea, and *perjury* alſo in thoſe that have ſubſcribed the three Articles, and taken the Oath of *Canonical* obedience; that I ſhould wiſh mine eyes a fountain of tears to bewail it, and my quill the pen of a more ready Writer to deſcribe it: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*, &c.

Iſa. 1.

4. Schiſmaticall, illegal & oppreſſive to to the Government of the Church.

Biſhops, as *Cranmer* and others, ſpecial inſtruments of the Reformation.

What ſhame is it that this ſhould ſpoken be,
And nothing to be ſaid to th' contray?

5. It

5. It is of moſt dangerous inſinuation, in reſpect of *the Kings Authority*, *Dignity* and *Perſon*. First, To his *Dignity*, in putting him after the Parliaments and Kingdoms, and yet put the Parliaments before the Kingdoms, as if he were inferiour unto both, whereas by our *Oath of Supremacy*, we do acknowledge him to be *over all perſons* within theſe his Realms and Dominions *Supreme Governour*. And have in that, and in the Oath of *Allegiance*, and in the *Proteſtation*, ſworn and engaged to maintain his honour and priviledges. Secondly, It inſinuates moſt imminent *danger* unto the Kings *Perſon* and *Authority*; whileſt it engageth to preſerve and de- 'fend the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, *in* 'the preſervation and defence of the true *Religion* and '*Liberties* of the Kingdoms. Openly implying, that both the one and the other may be deſerted in caſe he do not, or ſeems to ſome, not to defend *true Religion* and the *Liberties*. Thirdly, And for his *Authority*, we ſwear obedience thereunto in the former Oaths *indefinitely*, without ſuch limitations as theſe are; whence theſe appears to be no leſs then a *treaſonable* limitation.

5. Of moſt dangerous inſinuation againſt the dignity, perſon and authority of the King.

6. It ſwears to *betray* and *oppreſs* contrary to *Law*, the Kings *faithful Subjects*, and the true *ſons of the Church*; becauſe they would keep faith with the one and unity with the other, (*Artic.* 4.) under the names of *Malignants* and *Hinderers* of *Reformation*. 7. It owneth the *Houſes of Parliament*, in oppoſition to the King, to be the *Supreme Judicatories*, and acknowledgeth a power in them of puniſhment to life and eſtate; which is a betraying *the Subjects Liberty*: as alſo that they may puniſh as they *judge* convenient, or a *Committee* from them. What is this, but to pluck up *Magna Charta* by the roots, which gives this priviledge, 'that no free-born Engliſh man ſhall be puniſh- 'able in life, liberty or eſtate, but by a Jury of his equals? &c. So that this is an erecting of an *Arbitrary Government*, and deſtructive to the *Fundamental Laws* of the Land. The ſame error is committed in the fift *Arti-*

6. Is oppreſſive of the K. faithful ſubjects and true members of the Church.

7. It bettaies the Liberty of the Subject in ſetting up an *Arbitrary* power againſt Law.

cle,

cle, againſt thoſe that ſhould any way oppoſe *this kind* of union between the two Nations. 8. In the ſixt and laſt *Article*, it obliges to defend *all* thoſe that enter into this Covenant in the purſuance thereof; which, what it infers, cannot be foreſeen, nor how far that clauſe may be extended. 9. It engageth againſt *Repentance*, which in an Oath of that *nature* and *newneſs*, ought not to have been done, but that, *juvat impiis*, as well as *miſeris ſocios habuiſſe* —

8. Obliges to a blind abetting of all attempts in the purſuance of it.

9. Engages againſt Repentance.

It pleaſeth them, that have the plague, to ſee
That others *as* themſelves *infected bee.*

10. Laſtly, In the *Epilogue* and cloſe of it. It is Horridly *Hypocritical*, *Blaſphemous* towards *God*, *Scandalous* and *Dangerous* to other Churches and Nations. Firſt, It is Horridly *Hypocritical*; in acknowledging that we *profeſs before God and the world our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our ſins, and the ſins of theſe Kingdoms, againſt God and Chriſt his Son*, &c. And yet at the ſame time ſwear to diſhonour both, and tranſgreſs the *Goſpel*, which commands *obedience of Subjects* to their Princes, eſpecially in doubtful caſes, the King holding forth not force but *law*, as well as they, and (as I am perſwaded) with better *evidence*. Secondly, It is moſt *blaſphemous* and a high *temptation* of Almighty God; to pray moſt 'humbly unto him to ſtrengthen us by his holy Spirit, to 'live and dye in oppoſition to the juſt *Laws* of the 'Land; in ſedition againſt our natural Prince; in *ſchiſm* againſt the *Church*; and in *oppreſſion* and violence againſt our innocent brethren. Thirdly, It is *Scandalous* to other Nations and Churches, whereby through us, the name of *God* (as called upon and profeſſed by the *Reformed*) was blaſphemed even among the very *Turks*, yea, our Nation (the members of it) in peril whereſoever they came, as *Merchants* and Travellers know. Laſtly, *Dangerous* unto the ſame Churches. Firſt, As objecting them to *ſuſpition* of their Princes, as hath appeared in the horrid *Maſſacres* of the poor brethren in the

10. Hypocritical, blaſphemous towards God, ſcandalous and dangerous to other Churches and Nations. Prov. 24. Eccleſ. 10. Matth. 22. Prov. 13. 1 Pet. 2.

Ezek. 20. 27.

Ezek. 36. 20.

Piedmont.

the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions ſince. Then by *animating* of them by this example to attempt the like, which hapned alſo ſince in *Holland*, where an inſurrection being made in *Rotterdam*, or ſome Town thereabout, againſt the *Magiſtrate*, the ſeditious cryed out, that *they were ſlaves, but the Engliſh-men brave fellows.* This is known, and I received it from a grave *Miniſter*, ſeveral years ſince, of one of the *Dutch* Congregations in *England.* And thus much of the *third* argument, taken from the *matter* of the Covenant. 2.

I come now to the laſt, from the *ſcope* and end of it, from whence the *nullity* of its obligation will be further evidenced. The purpoſe was to ſtrengthen and foment an *unnatural civil war* in the State, and *Schiſm* in the Church; to maintain the *body*, a great part of it, againſt the *head*; to unſettle the doctrine of *Religion*, the *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government* of the Church; to *ruine* all thoſe honeſt and *upright-hearted* brethren, that were more tender of their duty to *God* and the *King*. Now had the Oath been good in it ſelf, and the authority ſufficient that impoſed it; yet ſuch a *deſign* being viſible and declared, it were void by the very *purpoſe* of it; much more when failing in thoſe and other particulars, as hath been evidenced. It was forbidden to ſwear, 'The *Lord* 'liveth, unleſs in truth, in righteouſneſs, and in judg-'ment; that is, for righteous purpoſes, though the words were good. *Paul* would not circumciſe there, where he ſaw the ill uſe they meant to make of it; nay, he would not *Baptize*. 4. Argument that the Covenant binds not, taken from the *ſcope* and end of it. Jer. 4. 2. Gal. 2. 5. 1 Cor. 1.

But it may be objected, that granting all this, and that from thence it follows, that it ſhould not have been taken; or being taken, that though in all things it binds not; yet in thoſe that are lawful and good, it *being taken*, and *God ſolemnly invocated*, *as we ſhall anſwer at the dreadful day of judgment*, *that we took it with a true intention to perform the ſame*, in thoſe it binds. To which I anſwer, by a two-fold diſtinction. Firſt, The Covenant is to be conſidered either *per ſe*, and of *it ſelf*, as a *Obiect.* Yet ſo far as it is good, it binds. 1. Diſtinction. *Anſw.* Not as any part of that Covenant.

publick National Covenant, impoſed by the *power* that then was: Or elſe *per accidens*, as there was occaſionally joyned with it a *perſonal* and *particular* ſtipulation and oath of every man for himſelf. Now in the former ſenſe, and as the *National publick Covenant* impoſed by ſuch *Power*; in regard the Oath it ſelf was *contradictory* to *former* lawful Oaths, impoſed by unlufficient *power* in oppoſition to the *Legal*, and in the matter of it ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and injurious, as alſo in the ſcope and end: It is wholly void in the obligation of it. But in the latter ſenſe, as there was conjoyned *accidently* therewith, a *particular and perſonal* ſwearing of each man for himſelf, it may have an obligation in the ſenſe of the next diſtinction, which is. That this Covenant muſt be conſidered alſo, firſt *formally* and entirely, as ſuch an Oath and Covenant in *concreto*, and in the *whole*, containing ſuch a *body of Articles*. Secondly, *materially* and as having in it ſome *particulars*, that taken *thence* and by *themſelves*, might not be unlawful to ſwear unto. Now in the former ſenſe, as any thing in the Covenant is a *part of it*, as that *publick Covenant* propoſed by ſuch *Power*, and containing ſuch *illegal* matter, as a *whole*, *and body*; ſo *it all*, and *every thing* therein contained, is void, invalid, and unlawful to be kept. Becauſe if in a body of an engagement, any part be unlawful, the whole is ſo. But in the *other* ſenſe, as there happened by *accident* to be in it ſome things lawful to be ſworn unto, (as to *preſerve what is good in one Church*, *and to endeavour orderly to reform what may poſſibly be found amiſs in the other*, *&c.*) may, and *doth* bind; but not *as parts of that Covenant*, impoſed by that *Power*, &c. but as a *private and perſonal* Engagement, Oath, and Covenant, and as made by a man in his *chamber*, obliging only by the *matters*, & the *invocation of the Name of God* upon them, whereunto each man was accidentally drawn by that occaſion. The ſame obligation lying upon him, if on any other occaſion he had in his cloſet ſworn to thoſe things, and no otherwiſe; nor with any reference at all to that Covenant.

2. Diſtinction. Any Record or Deed vitiated in *any one* part, makes void the *whole* in *Law*, ſay the Brethren. Neceſſity of Reform. p. 36.

But accidentally. *Bonum ex integris cauſis, malum ex quolibet defectu.* Dr. Sanders *de juram.*

Ezek. 16. 61. And as a private Oath.

nant. I conclude therefore in reference to the *Covenant*, *as that Covenant and Oath, it binds not neither in whole nor in part.*

But it may be further objected: That when *Joshua* and the Princes had *sworn*, though in a thing forbidden, they took themselves obliged to keep it. First, it would be a good answer, *ad hominem*, to return unto these persons the exposition of *Calvin*, whom in this Covenant, particularly about Church-discipline, they do perversly imitate, (himself being of another spirit) who saith in this place, That the Princes did *rashly to swear*, and *foolishly to keep it*; because the Oath was void *ipso facto*, being against expres prohibition of God himself. But others more agreeably judge, the thing was not unlawful, seeing (though deceitfully) they did *seek peace*, which the Lord else-where alloweth to be granted. Or as St. *Austin*; For the *honor of Gods Name*, and the commendation of *clemency*, and, on Gods part, the reward of their *faith*. I shall for close, propound the greatest examples opposite in this argument; of an *Oath*, and about *killing*, both of them, as this Covenant is (for that's the scope to maintain the War against the King and the Church) namely, of two *Kings*, *David* and *Herod*; the one after Gods own heart, the other after Sathans. Of the first: *Video pium hominem & sanctum, in temerariam juratione cecidisse: & maluisse non facere quod juraverat, quam jurationem suam fuso hominis sanguine implere.* 'I see a good and holy man fallen into a *rash oath* and 'adjuration, and choosing rather not to perform, what 'by oath he had pre-ingaged, than by the effusion of hu-'man blood to perfect it, Saith St. *Austin*. And of the other: *Ubi videbat cruentum facinus, ibi rursum timebat reatum perjurii. Ne Deum offenderet peierando, Deum offendit saviendo.* 'Where he saw a bloody villany, 'there he feared the guilt of perjury; and lest he should 'offend God by *forswearing*, there he offended God by 'cruel *murdering*; saith the same Author.

Object. 2. out of Josh. 9. 19.

Answ. 1. *Calvin. in loc. Videmus itaq; ut Nomen Dei bis profanaverint, dum praetextu juramenti pertinaciter defendunt, quod stultum promiserant.* Tremel. *in loc.* Deut. 20. 10. *Aug. 2. in Josh. cap.* 14.

Aug. de decollat. Joh. Bapt. Tom. 10. *par. ed. Iovin.* 438. *cap.* 2.

Idem ibid. cap. 1.

Subſect. 2.

What the Covenant obligeth to.

THus far hath been ſhewen, that the *Covenant*, in reference to the performance of the contents of it, bindeth not: Yet doth it bind and *oblige very ſtrongly*. For, *Ecce ſanctus* David, *non quidem juratus ſanguinem hominis fudit: ſed eum falſum juraſſe negare quis poterit? de duobus peccatis elegit minus: ſed minus fuit illud in comparatione majoris. Nam per ſeipſum appenſum, magnum malum eſt falſa juratio.* 'Behold holy 'David, he would not ſhed a mans blood, though he had 'ſworn it: But who can deny but that he was forſworn? 'of two evils he choſe the leaſt. It was indeed the 'leaſt in compariſon of the greater; but elſe of it ſelf, '*falſe ſwearing is a great ſin*; Saith the ſame St. *Auſtin.* Now *great* ſins do bind and *oblige* unto *deep* repentance. As *Paul* in another caſe, 'I muſt *bewail*, ſaith he, thoſe 'that committed theſe laſciviouſneſſes, and have not 'repented. We muſt, as *Job* did, 'after he had ſpoken 'words, that he underſtood not, to God, even *abhor* 'our ſelves, and repent in duſt and aſhes. And with the bleſſed Apoſtle, we muſt be humbled as oft as we reflect upon it, and think the *worſe of of our ſelves as long as we live*, as he did for his ſin, though not committed in *light* as ours was: 'I am not worthy (ſaith he) to be 'called an Apoſtle, becauſe I perſecuted the Church 'of God. So every one of us; I am not worthy to be called a *Chriſtian*, a *ſubject* of the Kings, or a ſon of the *Church*, becauſe I entred into this *Covenant*: But yet, with his *comfort*, and ſome kind of recompence where he had done the wrong, *viz.* 'Yet by the *grace* of 'God I am what I am; that is, a penitent, and a convert; and as a token of it, 'I laboured more abundantly 'then they all, that had not ſo offended. As 'tis alſo

Aug. ubi ſupra, cap. 3.

2 Cor. 12. ult.

Job 42.

1 Cor. 15.

propheſied

propheſied in *this* cauſe ſome ſhould do. And let us for 'the future fear God and the King, and not meddle with 'them that are given to change (the government of 'Church and State) for their deſtruction hath come 'ſuddenly, and who foreknew the ruine of them both? *i. e.* thoſe that have both deſerted God in his Church, and the King in the State and Common-wealth. 'And 'if hereafter ſinners in that kind entice thee, conſent 'thou not; no, though they ſhould ſay, Come, we will 'have all one purſe. For they lay wait for their own 'blood, as we have ſeen. And let us not deceive our ſelves: one horn of this dilemma will wound us: Either the Covenant is to be *literally* kept, or elſe *repented* of. Remember, palliations, *expoſitions*, and evaſions here will do no good: 'For he that *covereth* this ſin ſhall not '*proſper*. And whilſt we hold our peace, our bones will 'conſume through Gods heavy hand upon us. And *our* '*ſin will find us out*. For there is no darkneſs nor ſhadow 'of death, where the workers of iniquity may *hide* 'themſelves, ſaith *Elihu*. And thus far of the *general* exceptions againſt the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government* of the Church of *England*; *viz.* That they are *unneceſſary*, *inconvenient*, *humane* inventions; *Apocryphal*, *Popiſh*, not *eſtabliſhed by Law*: And an *Engagement* and *Covenant*, for the removing or reforming of them.

Eicon Baſilic. Medit. 27.

Prov. 24. 21, 22.

Prov. 1. 10.

Prov. 28. 13.

Pſal. 32.

Numb. 32. 23.

Job 34. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Grounds of Separation, and Exceptions particular against the Matter of the Premiſes.

SECT. I.

Againſt the Articles or Doctrine.

2. Exceptions particular, againſt the matter of the premiſes.

Independents except not. *Apologet. narrat. pag.* 29.

PRoceed we now unto the *Exceptions particular*, namely, againſt the *matter* of the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Aſſemblies*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government*. And, firſt of thoſe againſt the *Articles* or *Doctrine*. The *Independent* or diſſenting Brethren acknowledge, 'That in the *review* and examination of the 'Articles of *our Church* (ſo are their words) our judg-'ments (ſay they) have ſtill concurred with the greateſt 'part of our Brethren; neither do we know wherein we 'have diſſented. But certain of the *Presbyterian* Brethren do diſſent, and object againſt them, firſt, *doubtfulneſs*; ſecondly, *error*; thirdly, *tyranny* in the act requiring ſubſcription; and fourthly, *defectiveneſs* and imperfection. Firſt, *doubtfulneſs*, becauſe in the book of Articles now printed, and ever ſince 10 *Carol.* 1. there is a declaration of his late Majeſty to the Articles, to this effect. '1. *That thoſe Articles contain the true Do-'ctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to Gods 'Word.* 2. That the Clergy upon juſt occaſion may 'have liberty from the King, under the Broad Seal, to 'deliberate on ſuch things as make for the eſtabliſhment 'of the ſame doctrine; yet ſo, that no varying in the

Some *Presbyters* now do.

Neceſsity of Reform. pag. 1. &c.

1. Doubtfulneſs.

Kings declar. before the Articles.

'leaſt

'*leaſt degree* ſhould be endured. 3. That no man ſhould
'put his own ſenſe upon them, but take the Articles in
'the literal and grammatical ſenſe; whence the Brethren pag. 2.
'infer, that by this Declaration, no Miniſter ſhall
'have liberty to interpret any one of theſe Articles.
'And therefore they will remain doubtful. But firſt, *Anſw.* 1.
this doubtfulneſs is not *per ſe*, and in the Articles *themſelves*; but *per accidens*, and in reference to this declaration. Again, though they are prohibited to put any 2.
new ſenſe, as the King ſpeaks; or their *own* ſenſe, as the Judge in *Smiths* caſe; yet are they not forbidden to explain the *literal* and *grammatical* ſenſe. The *Scripture*, in the *fundamentals* of ſalvation; alſo the *Laws* and *Acts* of Parliament, are ſo to be taken; and yet *Divines* there, and *Judges* here, have ever been allowed to open thoſe ſenſes, or elſe the one muſt not preach, nor the other declare Law. Thirdly, when unto that liberty 3.
granted to the Clergy, there is this reſtraint expreſly put upon it; *viz.* 'That *from the Doctrine eſtabliſhed*, the '*leaſt varying* ſhall not be endured; and that nothing 'ſhall be concluded contrary to the *Laws and Cuſtoms* '*of the Land*; is there not a fair *aſſurance*, that the preſent doctrine ſhall remain *fixed*; and that if any heterodox ſenſe ſhall be put upon them, it ſhall be lawful to oppoſe the *literal* and *grammatical* ſenſe, whether in the Article or Explication. Fourthly, when the Declaration ſaith: 'We will, that all further curious ſearch be 4.
'laid aſide, and theſe diſputes *ſhut up in Gods promiſes*, '*as they be generally ſet forth unto us in the holy Scripture*: This refers eſpecially to the ſeventh Article, touching *Predeſtination*, &c. whoſe *words* in the latter part they are. Laſtly, Miniſters are not prohibited abſolutely from ſearching, but from that which is *curious*, 5.
and beyond ſobriety. This for the doubtfulneſs of the Articles.

Necesſity of Reform. p. 5.

The ſecond exception is their *erroneouſneſs*, for on this 2. *Error.*
the Brethren inſiſt, though under the other *covered* head of doubtfulneſs. Firſt, becauſe it is ſaid, 'Not every *dead-*

'*ly*

Artic. 16. 'ly *ſin committed willingly* after Baptiſm, is a ſin againſt 'the holy Ghoſt; they infer, that the Church holds the diſtinction of *venial and deadly ſin*, which is *Popiſh*. What if the *Article* ſpeak in the then *received* language, and according to ſuch diſtinction, not owning of it therefore in the ſenſe held by the *adverſary*, but uſing it for the purpoſe they had in hand? *viz.* that, though all ſins be deadly of themſelves, yet ſeeing ſome are greater than other; grant the worſt, which they call *deadly* ſin, (as we uſually expreſs a great evil by that word, that it is a *deadly* one, as a *deadly grief*, a *deadly miſchief*.) yet is not every ſuch, a ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt; eſpecially when the Church hath in other places ſo plainly declared her ſelf to the people, as in the Homilies, Catechiſm, and Common-prayer-book; in the laſt whereof it preſcribeth confeſſion of ſins to be made twice every day, by *all* the Congregation. Now it is not to be thought, that every one is guilty of *deadly ſin every day* in the ſenſe expreſſed; ſo that the *people* are in no great danger by that expreſſion. And the Articles declaring, Artic. 11. 'that we are accounted righteous before *God*, Artic. 22. 'onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus 'Chriſt. And that there is none other ſatisfaction for 'ſin, but that (offering of Chriſt) alone; and damning of 'all Purgatory, Pardons, worſhipping of Images, and 'Reliques, and invocation of Saints, do declare they 'count no ſin in it ſelf *venial*, but by the blood of 'Chriſt. Again, *Artic.* 20. where becauſe 'tis ſaid, 2. '*The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies*, '*and authority in controverſies of faith*: Becauſe the Kings declaration, and the *Act* before that, ſay, 'That 'the Articles muſt be taken in the literal and gramma-'tical ſenſe; they infer, 'That if a *Convocation* declare 'any thing in the premiſes, they muſt aſſent and ſub-'ſcribe in the *literal* ſenſe, or be deprived. But 1 it is not forbidden either by that Act, or the Kings Declaration, to enquire the *literal* ſenſe, and ſo to examine them: nor 2 are they required by that declaration, to ſubſcribe to what

what a Synod ſhall conclude, in the literal and grammatical ſenſe of ſuch concluſions or *Canons*; but onely to the literal and grammatical ſenſe of the *Articles*. This therefore is a captious inference, upon the *Declaration* and the *Act*. And ſo much more are their exceptions againſt the 34 *Article*, 'That whoſoever, *through* 'his own private judgment, willingly and purpoſely, doth 'openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the 'Church, which be not repugnant unto the Word of God, 'and be ordained by common authority, &c. But are there not *three* or *four Cautions* in it, that ſhould defend it from all calumny? 1. That theſe Traditions and Rites muſt *not be repugnant to the Word of God*. 2. That they be eſtabliſhed by *common Authority*. 3. That a man do *tranſgreſs of his own private judgment*. And 4. *willingly, purpoſely*. Yea and 5. *openly*. This exception taketh away the obedience to all *Church-Laws*, yea, to all *Civill Laws*; they may as well except againſt ſubſcribing, if any ſuch Act were, to the ſenſe of this Article applyed to the *Laws* of the *Kingdom*. As ſuppoſe they ſhould be enjoyned to ſubſcribe: 'That, whoſoever ſhall, 'through his private judgment, willingly and pur-'poſely, openly, break the Laws of the Land, 'which be not repugnant to the Word of God, 'and be ordained by common Authority; and 'to take theſe words of the *Act* in the literal and 'grammatical ſenſe, without putting their own 'private or new ſenſe upon it, &c. Would not ſuch perſons be thought unworthy to have any place in any Common-wealth, that ſhould refuſe? And why then in the Church? ſurely they muſt be both בלי על and בל יעל *men without yoke, and without uſe*, (and that *per* μίωσιν) that is, pernitious unto all Societies, and men of *Belial*. Their *third* exception is againſt *Artic.* 35. wherein is required the ſubſcribing to the Book of *Homilies, as a godly and wholeſome doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe times*. Againſt this they object, that there are *falſe doctrines* or *aſſertions* in them. Firſt, in-

3. Artic. 35.

1. The *Homilies*, how to be understood in Subscription.

general, subscription to the *Homilies* is intended by the Church, not in so punctual and verbal a degree, as is required unto the *Articles*, as appears, because the *Articles* are to be distinctly and severally read, and the expressions in them every one assented to; the *Homilies* not so, but onely as they agree with the *Articles*, which are the superior *rule* unto them. Not therefore to every expression or sentence, no, nor doctrine nor assertion, if any were contrary to the *definitive doctrine* of the Articles. All men know, that there is a greater latitude of expression allowed to *popular Sermons*, as the *Homilies* are, than to Articles. And the Brethren would have *their* Sermons to contain necessary and wholesome doctrine; yet perhaps will not be so hardy as to affirm, that they may not have uttered *some* sentences, not so true or *congruous*, if exactly scanned; or that *nullum unquam verbum emisit (eorum quisq;) quod revocare vellet*; as he said above. And lest there should any inconvenience arise to the people (though now the danger is little, the Homilies being so much, if not too much, laid aside) the *Common-prayer* and reading of the *Scripture publickly*, together with *preaching* according to the Articles, are provided as a remedy. Yea, which is more, if *one* Homily speak less warily in any material point, it is corrected in another, as in the Homily of *Almes-deeds*, seeming in one passage or so to ascribe some kind of *merit* unto them (though it doth not, taking the word properly) yet it explaineth it *beforehand* in another, namely, in the Homily of Salvation, or *Justification*, wherein that doctrine is excellently set forth; as also in the Homily of Faith. So when in the Homily of Alms, *Tobith* is cited as Scripture, not onely the *Article* doth regulate that expression, but every ones *Bible* also. Besides, every exhortatory expression must not be called a *doctrine*, or an *assertion*; but that which as a point, is purposely insisted on to be maintained; of which sort I believe verily, the Brethren will never be able to instance in *any one* out of the Homilies. And indeed,

3. Instructions to Preachers, Artic. 1, *Ann.* 1622.

indeed, had they obſerved the inſtructions of King *James*, (above mentioned) *viz.* 'That no preacher un-'der the degree and calling of a Biſhop, or Dean of a 'Cathedral, or Collegiat Church, (and they upon the 'Kings days, and Feſtival days) do take occaſion by the 'expounding of any Text of Scripture whatſoever, to 'fall into any ſet diſcourſe, or common place, (other-'wiſe than by opening the coherence and diviſion of his 'Text) which *ſhall not be comprehended and warranted 'in eſſence, ſubſtance, effect, and natural inference*, with-'in ſome one of the *Articles* of Religion, ſet forth '1562. or in ſome of the *Homilies*, ſet forth by au-'thority in the Church of *England*, not onely for a 'help for the *non-preaching*; but withal for a *pattern* 'and *boundary* (as it were) for the *preaching Mini-'ſters*. And for their further inſtruction for the perfor-'mance hereof, that they forthwith read over and per-'uſe diligently the ſaid Book of Articles, and the two 'books of Homilies. This, I ſay, had they obſerved, the *ſound, godly*, and *comfortable* doctrine therein contained, might perhaps have ſo endeared them, as not to be traduced by them ſo reproachfully; that I ſay not, their peoples edification, the Kingdoms quiet, and their own peace, might have been more then now it is, or like to be. *Note.*

As to particulars: the inſtances they give are few in number (but two) and weak in ſtrength, to bear up ſo heavy a charge as *falſe doctrine*. The firſt is out of the Homily of the time and place of prayer, *part.* 2. 'tis ſaid, that therefore plurality of wives was by ſpecial prerogative ſuffered to the Fathers of the old Teſtament —— *becauſe every one hoped and prayed, that the bleſſed ſeed that ſhould break the Serpents head, might come of his ſtock.* The Brethren except, *As if every one did not know out of what Tribe Chriſt was to iſſue?* I anſwer, No; for theſe words may refer unto the Fathers more antient, before any diſtinction of Tribes were. Secondly, After the diſtinction of Tribes, it was long before

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1. Particular exception againſt the Homilies.

before *this* truth was made known, and not till the latter Prophets, if even by them underſtood of the people. The next place is out of the Homil. of *Almſ-deeds*, part. 2. pag. 160. *The ſame leſſon doth the Holy Ghoſt teach us in ſundry places of Scripture*, ſaying, *Mercifulneſs and almſ-giving, purgeth from all ſins, and delivereth from death, and ſuffereth not the ſoul to come into darkneſs.* ——*The wiſe Preacher, the ſon of* Sirach, *confirmeth the ſame, when he ſaith, That as water quencheth burning fire, even ſo mercy and alms reſiſteth and reconcileth ſins.* Againſt this paſſage they have three Exceptions: 1. Againſt the *expreſſion*, reconcileth ſins; excellent ſenſe, ſay they: Well, we ſhall ſee how good theirs will be anon. 2. Againſt the *matter*. 3. Againſt the proof of it: firſt, for the matter, they ſay that a charitable conſtruction of them may be *wyardrawn*, implying, they are not ſimply juſtifiable. But why did not the Brethren retain ſo much ingenuity, (I ſay, not *honeſty*) as to give the *Homilies* own explication of them, which in that very page and the next, ſaith, 'But ye ſhall underſtand, dearly beloved, that neither 'those *places* of Scripture before alledged, neither the 'doctrine of the bleſſed Martyr *Cyprian*, neither any 'other godly and learned man, when they in extolling 'the dignity, profit, fruit and effect of vertuous and *li*'*beral alms*, do ſay, that it waſheth away ſins, and bring'eth us to the favour of *God*, do *mean*, that our works 'and charitable deeds is the *original cauſe* of our accepta'tion before *God*; or that for the *dignity* or *worthineſs* 'thereof, our ſins may be waſhed away, and we purged 'and cleanſed of all the ſpots of our iniquity: for *that* '*were indeed to deface Chriſt, and to defraud him of his* '*glory*. But they mean this, and this is the underſtanding 'of thoſe and ſuch like ſayings: That God of his mercy 'and ſpecial favour towards them whom he hath appoin'ted to everlaſting ſalvation, hath ſo offered his grace '*eſpecially*, and they have ſo received it fruitfully, that 'although by reaſon of their ſinful living outwardly, they 'ſeemed

Two particular places excepted againſt.

How good works do away ſins.

Note.

'ſeemed before to have been the children of wrath and 'perdition; yet now the Spirit of God mightily work-'ing in them, unto obedience unto Gods will and com-'mandments, they declare by their outward deeds and 'life in the ſhewing of *mercy* and charity (which cannot 'come but of the *ſpirit* of God and his *eſpecial* grace) 'that they are the undoubted children of God, appointed 'to everlaſting life.

And a little after: The meaning then of theſe ſayings in the *Scriptures* and other holy Writings; '*Almſ-deeds do waſh away our ſins, and mercy to the poor doth 'blot out our offences*; is, That we doing theſe things ac-'cording to *Gods* will, and our duty, have our ſins in-'deed waſhed away, and our offences blotted out: *not 'for the worthineſs of them*, but by the grace of *God*, 'which worketh all in all. And that for the promiſe 'that God hath made to them that are obedient to his 'commandement, that he which is the truth might be 'juſtified in performing the truth, due to his promiſe. 'Almſ-deeds do waſh away our ſins, becauſe God doth 'vouchſafe then to repute us as clean and pure, when 'we do them for his ſake, and not becauſe they deſerve 'or merit our purging, or for that they have any ſuch 'ſtrength or merit in themſelves. In which words, a double account is given of thoſe expreſſions in Scripture, which ſeem to attribute juſtification and ſalvation unto good works. Firſt, Becauſe they declare a man to be the child of God, and to be endued with his Spirit, and ſo do evidence that his ſins are pardoned. Secondly, Becauſe God hath unto believers promiſed a reward unto his own graces, and eſpecially that of *Love*, and that which is (*prima charitatis deificantis filia eleemoſyna*, as *Theophylact* calls it) the *eldeſt daughter* of divine Charity, *Almeſ-giving*. Then which, what could be ſpoken more Orthodox, or more comfortable, I know not. But ſecondly, Leſt they ſhould ſay theſe Anſwers are invented to ſalve Apocryphal and other human expreſſions; they are to remember that the ſame doctrine (for ſubſtance)

How to underſtand the Scripr. and Fathers concerning good works.

Note.

Note.

2.

ſtance) is delivered by our Saviour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. As where he ſaith, *Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy.* Again, 'If ye forgive, your 'Heavenly Father will forgive you (which proceeds up-'on the ſame ground.) Alſo, Give *almes* of ſuch 'things as yee have, and behold all things are clean un-'to you. Which *Calvin* expounds in this ſenſe. And in the next Chapt. 'Sell that ye have and give Almes; 'Provide your ſelves bags which wax not old; A trea-'ſure in the Heavens that faileth not, &c. And that expreſſion, *Love covers a multitude of ſins*; is uſed by the Apoſtle *Peter*, as well as *James*, to the ſame effect. And the Apoſtle St. *Paul* implyeth, *that* faith only which works by *love*, to be effectual to obtain forgiveneſs of ſins. And St. *James* proves as well concerning *love* as faith, that if it have not Almſ-giving, it is uneffectual, as thoſe words; If a brother or a ſiſter be naked or deſtitute of daily food, and one ſay, Go, be warmed, be filled, and give him not that which is needful for the body, what doth it profit? that is, what proof of love is here? And *Paul* exhorts rich men by good works, to lay up for themſelves a good *foundation*, that they may *lay hold on eternal life*; There is a *foundation of right*, whereby we have title to eternal life, and that is *faith*, if it be a living one: And there is a foundation of *aſſurance*, and that is by good works. Again, There is an *original* right, and that's by *faith* in the *general* promiſe, the Covenant of Grace. And there is a *collateral* right, and that is by *good works*, whereunto *particular promiſes* are made. But, as our Authour ſaith, 'I know 'ſome men will not be contented with this anſwer, and 'no marvel; for *ſuch* men, can no anſwer content or ſuffice. I have done with their Exception againſt the matter, *Almſ-deeds* and the efficacy of them.

Mauth. 5.7. Chap. 6.14. Luke 11.41. *Calv. in Harm.* Luke 12.33. 1 Pet. 4.8. Gal. 5.6. Jam. 2. 1 Tim. 6.19. Explained. Foundation of ſalvation double. The right of it ſuch alſo. Homil. of Almſd. p. 161.

3. I come now to their objection againſt the *proof*, or the *title* of it rather: That the Book of *Tobith* being cited for proof, it is ſaid, that the Holy Ghoſt did teach in ſundry places of Scripture; and this Book named, whence

Chap. 4.10. Eccluſ. 3.30.

whence they infer: 1. That the Book of *Tobith* is here taken for holy Scripture. 2. That it was indited by the Holy Ghoſt. But for anſwer. When things ſeem double to the eye that are ſingle, it is an argument that either their opticks or their underſtanding is defective. In all other mens eyes, for a Book to be holy Scripture, and to be indited by the holy Ghoſt, is all one, and *vice versâ*. But if they ſpake that they did not think, if their hearts were worſe then their head, we may here retort upon them their own reproach upon the Hom. *excellent ſenſe*. Secondly, I anſwer with the Learned *Whitaker*; *Non eſt idem, eſſe canonicam Scripturam, & computari in numerum ſacrarum Scripturarum:* 'It is not the 'ſame thing to *be* Canonical Scripture, and to be *coun-* 'ted in the number of holy Scripture. *Computantur enim in numero Scripturarum, quæ cum ſacris Scripturis leguntur ad ædificationem plebis, etſi non ad dogmatum confirmationem.* 'They are counted, ſaith he, in the 'number of the Books of Scripture, which are read 'with Scripture for the edification of the Church, al- 'though not for the confirmation of Articles of Faith. The Articles therefore having excluded theſe Books from holy Scripture, and every ones Bible having it in the Apocrypha, that expreſſion might be born in a *popular* Sermon, though not in a determination in the *Schools*. But Secondly, The Homily ſaith, the *Holy Ghoſt* ſaies it; and that implies 'tis very *Scripture*. As if, as he called it Scripture in a large ſenſe, ſo he might not aſcribe it to the Holy Ghoſt in a like ſenſe alſo; yet not as *any* truth (eſpecially in matters of Religion) may be ſo aſcribed, but *becauſe it is ſo conſonant unto thoſe very expreſſions which the Holy Ghoſt hath in the undoubted Scripture*, touching the ſame matter, as we ſaw above, out of the Sermons of our Saviour, and writings of the Apoſtles. But Thirdly, (becauſe I love *plainneſs*) What if I grant that the Homily, being penned very early, and in the morning as it were of the Reformation, and before the Articles had determined the number of Canonical

1.

De Sacr. Script. Q. 1. cap. 11.

Apocrypha, how Script.

Artic. 6. as themſelves note.

2.

Apocrypha, how from the holy Ghoſt.

3.

nical Books, at leaſt in the *Synod* 1562. or were confirmed by *Parl.* And whileſt it was ſtill in the *peoples* minds, (being ſo formerly taught) that thoſe Books were Scripture; what if, to *avoid offence* in a *popular* Sermon, the Homily ſpake according to the then received opinion; as the holy Evangeliſts and Apoſtles oftentimes follow the *Greek* Tranſlation, differing from the *Hebrew*, becauſe it was generally received, and the errors not ſuch as overthrew the faith; ſo here. But why was it not amended ſince? Why is it ſuffered to ſtand ſtill? Forſooth for the ſame reaſons perhaps in part, that thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, our brethren of the Nation, and others affected that way, may ſee we do not reject *wholly* thoſe Books out of the number of holy Scriptures in *ſome ſenſe*, and as inditements of the holy Ghoſt in ſuch things as they have agreeable to Scripture. And it may be theſe and ſuch like expreſſions were left, as are the *Pſalms* and *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* after the *old* Tranſlation, not only for the cauſe now named; but alſo to be as a picture of the face of the Church in its infancy here; that the growth of it ſince, in knowledge and diſtinct underſtanding of things, might the better appear. Though it muſt be avowed, that if any man, yea, or an *Angel* from Heaven preach any other Doctrine, *than what is already and then was eſtabliſhed in the Articles, Homilies and Liturgies, let him be accurſed.* Laſtly, It is very probable, that the things not being of any dangerous conſequences as they ſtood, and the changing of them might be not only very difficult, (for ſome things muſt have been much altered and detruncated) but alſo give occaſion of calumny to the adverſary, and of ſcandal to the weak, it was thought better to let them ſtand; leſt it ſhould be ſaid, the *Doctrine* or *Worſhip* was altered, and not the ſame as at the Reformation. The laſt place they except againſt, is *Art.* 37. where the *Queen* being named, and we enjoyned to read the Articles as they are, we may not (they ſay) turn the word *Queen* unto *King*: which Exception,

Object.

Anſw. 1.

2.

Galat. 1.

3.

Ipſa quippe mutatio conſuetudinis, etiã quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbat Aug. Januar. Ep. 118. *c.* 5.

Art. 37.

ception, becauſe *it foameth out their own ſhame*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh; repreſenting them to be men of a captious and quarrelſome ſpirit, ſhall receive no other anſwer. Jud. v. 13.

But be the Articles true or falſe, they urge the repealing of the Act requiring abſolute ſubſcription unto them, upon another ground, *viz.* *Becauſe* (ſay they) *if we may not ſubſcribe without an addition, (ſo far forth as the ſame Articles are agreeable to Gods Word) it muſt needs be granted, that the Compoſers of them are admitted to be infallible, and their Articles of equal authority with the Canonical Scriptures: or elſe that the Statute intended to tyrannize over the conſciences of men, which is not to be imagined.* To this, firſt in general: If this Reaſon be admitted; it doth not only overthrow all conſtitutions that concern Religion, whether made by Church or State, whenſoever any turbulent ſpirit ſhall fancy them *not to be according to the Word:* But it condemns alſo all the *Reformed Churches*, yea, all the *Churches and Chriſtian States* that are or *ever have been* I think in the world. And particularly, *majorem in modum*, and in a ſpecial manner, the Church of *Geneva*, and *Calvins* Diſcipline, where they are obliged thereunto by *oath*. But to the dilemma in particular; neither of the two *Horns of this Lamb* that *ſpeaks like a Dragon*, have any ſtrength. Have they forgotten, or never learned that boyes are taught in the very rudiments of *Logick* and reaſoning: *Quod per bonam conſequentiam ex teſtimonio aliquo divino elicitur, id* EANDEM *cum eo vim habet.* 'That what by good conſequence is drawn from 'Scripture, hath the ſame force that Scripture hath. Did not our Saviour and all the Apoſtles prove their Doctrine ſo, unto thoſe that received nothing from them but what they proved? Do not the Brethren think their Sermons and this their Book ought to be obeyed abſolutely, and in all the points they have excepted? And indeed a good *conſequence* is nothing but a *natural effect*. And an effect is of the ſame nature with its cauſe; yea, (as one ſaith)

3. Tyranny in the Act, requiring ſubſcription to the Articles. Pag. 5.

The Br. object Tyranny to Q. *Eliz.* and the Parl.

And to all States and Churches.

Ch. of *Geneva* requires conformity by *Oath.* Revel. 13. 11.

Kek. Log. l. 3. *c.* 12. *can.* 7.

Conſequences.

ſaith) nothing elſe but *the cauſe in act*, or at leaſt the
R. Hook. l. 5. cauſe is *in* the effect: ſo is *Scripture* in the true *conſequences* of it. And yet ſubſcription to ſuch concluſions do not argue the Authors to be infallible; but only to be
Tert. Adverſ. Hæret. eyes unto the weaker-ſighted to ſee the light by. *Omnia quidem dicta Domini omnibus poſita ſunt, quæ per aures Judæorum ad nos pervenerunt.* 'Gods Word is propoun-'ded unto all, but it comes to us by the ears, and ſo by 'the eyes of others. And becauſe *men* are called to ſubſcribe, and not *children*, who ſhould have their eyes, their ſubſcription only acknowledgeth that the Church and State have taken a *true* ſample from the *original*, leaving *this* ſtill as the *ſtandard*, as *prior tempore, ordine, naturâ & dignitate*. Such are all the true determinations of *Judges*, in reference to the Law: as *Deut.* 17. *They ſhall expound the Law to thee.* And the diſobedient there was puniſhed with death, for contempt of the ſentence of the Church and State, and yet their determinations were not of *equal authority*, but of equal *force*, with the *Law* it ſelf. So here.

2. Secondly, To the other horn of this *Lamb* or dilemma: 'That elſe the ſtatute did intend to tyrannize over 'the conſcience, which, they ſay, is not to be imagined, *O-portuit —— eſſe memorem:* *Anſw.* Did not the Brethren in the very lines immediately going before acknowledge, yea, urge it as an argument out of Sir *Edw. Coke*, who ſaith, 'He heard *Wray Chief Juſtice* of the K. Bench, '*Paſch.* 23 *Eliz.* (quoting *Dier* 23 *Eliz.* 377. *lib.* 6. 'fol. 69. *Greens* caſe, *Smiths* caſe) report, that where 'one *Smith* ſubſcribed to the 39 Articles of Religion, 'with this addition, (ſo far forth as the ſame were agree-'able to the Word of God) that it was reſolved by him 'and *all* the Judges of *England*, that this ſubſcription 'was not according to the *Statute* of *Eliz.* 13. Becauſe 'the *Statute* required an *abſolute* ſubſcription, and this 'ſubſcription made it conditional. And that this *Act* 'was made for avoiding *diverſity of opinions*, &c. And 'by this addition, the party might by his own private

'*opinion*

'*opinion*, take ſome of them to be againſt the Word of 'God; and by this means diverſity of opinions ſhould 'not be avoided, which was the ſcope of the *Statute*; and the very *Act* it ſelf made touching ſubſcription, here-'by of none effect. Thus far their own quotation. So then it is evident by the words themſelves quoted juſt before, and by the ſentence of *all the Judges* of *England*, that the *Statute* requireth abſolute ſubſcription; which if it do, they ſay, *it did intend to tyrannize over the conſciences of men:* So then Q. *Eliz.* and that *Parl. with all the Kings and Parliaments ſince* that have confirmed that Act were Tyrants. It concerns the preſent *Parl.* to vindicate their predeceſſors in this point alſo. To what they add concerning mens ſubſcribing when they are young, and before their judgments be mature. It is anſwered, firſt, Thoſe admitted to the Miniſtry, though they may be as *Timothy* was, but young in age, yet they are not to be *Novices* in knowledge. And *Subſcription* is a good bond upon them, both for the peoples good, and their own, to preſerve them from novelties and apoſtacy. But ſo that no man is engaged againſt the Word of God. I hope then, they will not urge the obligation of the *Covenant*, upon thoſe who have not had *time or ſolidity throughly to ponder and weigh all the Articles thereof in the ballance of the Sanctuary, and in the ſcale of the Law*, as they phraſe it.

2. Subſcription of young men.

Uſe of ſubſcription.

To the laſt of this head. The liberty given to *tender conſciences*, is to be in things of *leſſer* not of *fundamentall* conſequence, and in the *Articles* of the *Faith*; for then, how ſhould the Magiſtrate be *cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*. How ſhould the Prince perform his truſt of the *ſouls* as well as the bodies, eſtates and names of his people. How ſhould there be *one God*, *one Faith*, *one Baptiſme in a particular Church*, and we *all* with *one mouth glorifie God*. This is alſo againſt the practice of all Churches; *we have no ſueh cuſtome, nor the Churches of God*. Thus much in reply to their three general firſt object. againſt the Articles. 1. Their doubtfulneſſe.

3. Liberty to tender conſciences.

1 Cor. 11.

2. Their erroniousneſs; and 3. The exacting of ſubſcription to them.

4. Defectiveneſs of the Artic.

I come now to the fourth, *viz.* Their *defectiveneſs* and *imperfection*. Where the firſt Exception is that, Art. 6. it is ſaid that; *In the name of the holy Scripture we underſtand thoſe Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of whoſe Authority there was never any doubt in the Church.* The Brethren oppoſe, that ſome Books and paſſages of the New Teſtament have been doubted of, as the Epiſtle of *James*, the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*. The Article they ſay is defective, in not enumerating all the Books of the *New Teſtament* (as it had done thoſe of the *Old*, and of the *Apocrypha*) comprehending them only under this expreſſion, *All the Books of the New Teſtament as they are commonly received.* Theſe words of the Article, being the former contains no matter of doctrine, namely thoſe: *of which there was never any doubt in the Church*; and the latter; *All the Books of the New Teſtament as they are commonly received* being plain and evident, (all Chriſtians now agreeing in the number of them throughout *Europe*:) The exception againſt them might have been omitted, as tending to raiſe *ſcruples* in the minds of the people; unleſs this Tract of the Brethren had been preſented in writing, and not publiſhed in print. But that this ſcruple may not extend it ſelf too far, I ſhall name ſuch, as to my remembrance have been at any time doubted of. They are the *ſecond* Epiſtle of *Peter*, the *ſecond* and *third* of *John*, the Epiſtle of *Jude*, and by ſome, the Hiſtory of the *Adultereſs*, *John* 8.1. the laſt Chapter of that *Goſpel*, the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the Epiſtle of *James*, and the *Revelation*. But firſt, theſe doubters were ſome of them Heretick's, as *Marcion*, *Tatianus*, &c. Secondly, This doubt did not ſpread it ſelf *in* the Church, but was onely of ſome *private* perſons. Again, It was be-

See a very full Confutation of theſe doubts in *Bellarm. de verb. D. lib.* 1 *cap.* 16. *& ſeqq. Tertul. Cont. Marcion. l.* 4. *Hieron. præfæn. in Epiſt. ad Titum. Euſeb. l.* 3. *c* 3. *Calvin* ſaith it was by the cunning of the Devil, that the Epiſt. to the *Hebrews* ſhould be doubted of, becauſe it ſpeaks ſo fully of Chriſts Prieſthood.

fore

fore the Church had *generally* conſented in them. Which having the ſame grounds of divine authority for them, as for the reſt, both in regard of the 1 *Antiquity*, and 2 *general reception* of them; as alſo in regard of the 3 *conſonancy* of them, with the doctrine of all the other Scripture; 4 and the enlargement and explanation of the ſame doctrine by them; 5 and further, the *Preſence of the Holy Ghoſt* in efficacy by the matter of them, thereby ſetting his ſeal unto them. Upon theſe and the like grounds, hath the *Univerſal Church* received them, as the other. I anſwer therfore in the words of *Bullinger*, (Profeſſor of the Church of *Tigur*) in this very argument: *Nec magnopere curandum exiſtimo quod à quibuſdam traditur, quoſdam veterum dubitaſſe de Epiſtolâ ad Hebræos, de epiſtolâ poſteriore Petri & Judæ, de epiſtolâ Jacobi & Apocalypſi: Quid enim ad nos quod* pauci *aliquot, ſuis affectibus corrupti, de rebus certis & authenticis Authoribus dubitarunt.* 'Neither are we much to mind (ſaith he) 'what is ſaid by ſome, namely, that certain of the Antients 'did doubt of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, of the ſecond 'Epiſtle of *Peter*, and of that of *Jude*, of the Epiſtle of '*James*, and of the *Revelation*. For what is it to us what 'ſome few, *corrupted by their depraved affections*, *have* 'judged, *concerning things certain*, *and theſe undoubted* 'Authors. Thus far he. Whence it appears, it might truly be ſaid, there was never any doubt in the Church of theſe books, becauſe either the perſons were not of the Church, but *Heretick*s that doubted, or elſe were ſome few perverted judgments; it never came ſo far as to be a doubt in the Church. So much for the firſt Exception.

The Churches motives in receiving books of Scripture.

De ſacris libris & eor. dignitate Expoſit. premiſſ. ante Biblia Tigurin.

The next is, they are defective, becauſe the Articles 'do ſpeak nothing of ſundry points of *Popery* and *Ar*-'*minianiſm*, *Predeſtination* abuſed, *univerſal Redemption*, 'univerſal Grace, the *manner of Converſion* and *falling from* 'grace; which King *James* procured the Synod of *Dort* 'to confute, and for which the late Synod at *London* is ſo much maligned. To this, firſt in general. It hath been always

2. *Object.*

Anſw.

always counted, both the *wiſdom* and the *tenderneſs*, not onely of the *Engliſh*, but of the antient Church, to make *Articles of faith*, whereunto all, eſpecially *Miniſters*, muſt ſubſcribe, to be but *few*. Firſt, *It being unfit to thruſt into the Book every poſition, negative* (or affirmative) *which would make the Book ſwell into a volume as big as the Bible, and alſo confound the Reader*, ſaith King *James*. 'When ſuch queſtions ariſe among 'Schollars, the quieteſt proceeding were, to determine 'them in the *Univerſities*, and not to ſtuff the *Book* (of 'Articles) with all concluſions Theological. Secondly, 'The better courſe would be, to *puniſh* the broachers of 'falſe doctrine, as occaſion ſhould be offered. For '*were the Articles never ſo many and ſound, who can pre-*'*vent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard.* Thus the King. St. *Auſtin* ſaith, *Regulam fidei puſillis magniſque communem, in Eccleſia tenent.* 'The rule of 'faith is common to the weak and to the wiſe. Hence my Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* infers; 'That *the rule of* '*faith muſt contain ſuch truths* ONELY, *as are* GENE-'RALLY *agreed upon by the conſent of all true Chri-*'*ſtians.* And accordingly we ſee the *Creed* called the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicene*, the *Conſtantinopolitan*, and *Athanaſian* how ſhort they are; now they were the *Articles of Religion* of thoſe times. The Articles of *Ireland* are larger, but taken for the moſt part *ad verbum*, out of *our Articles*, *Homilies*, and *Common-prayer-book*.

Conf. Hamp. Court, p. 39.

pag. 40.

Ep. 57. ad Dardanum.

B. *Ushers* anſw. to the Jeſuite, *pag.* 417.

2. But ſecondly, why do the Brethren urge more Articles, when as they neither are willing to ſubſcribe to theſe few, wherein they have found but two or three faults, and thoſe inconſiderable; but alſo refuſe to ſubſcribe to any without limits; unleſs they mean, as good-fellows upon the way, to range themſelves, whilſt they leave others bound behind them.

3. 3. Touching King *James*, though he was oppoſite to the Tenets of *Arminius*, yet you heard even now, he was averſe alſo from having the contrary doctrines inſerted into the *Articles*, farther then they are already, for one of them (*falling from grace*)

grace) was there the queſtion. And as oppoſite he was to the preaching of them to the people, as appears by theſe words; 'That no Preacher of what title ſoever, 'under the degree of a Biſhop or Dean at the leaſt, do 'from henceforth preſume to preach in any popular 'auditory, the deep points of *Predeſtination*, *Election*, '*Reprobation*; or of the *univerſality*, *efficacy*, *reſiſtibility*, 'or *irreſiſtibility* of Gods grace; but leave thoſe themes 'to be handled by the learned men, and that moderately 'and modeſtly, by way of *uſe* and *application*, rather than 'by way of poſitive *Doctrine*, as being more fit for the '*Schools* and *Univerſities*, than for ſimple Auditories. You ſee the King whom you quote, is not of your mind. 4. As to the matters themſelves, the Articles ſpeak ſufficiently of them ſo far, as to clear what is moſt *neceſſary* in them. As the eighth Article of *Original ſin*, the tenth Article of *Free-will*, the ſeventeenth Article of *Predeſtination* and *Election*; leaving what is diſputable and uncomfortable to be gathered from what is expreſſed. 5. As to the *Aſſembly*, they are not condemned by all men for their concluſions in thoſe points; but for convelling and tearing up the *foundations* of many generations in *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, and *Diſcipline*, without legitimate *Authority*, and for other things, which need not here be named.

Conf. Hamp. Court. pag. 39. 40.

K. *James* Inſtructions to Preachers, *Ann.* 1622. *Artic.* 3.

* As the inviſibility of the Catholick Church. &c.

Their third inſtance of the defectiveneſs of the Articles is, 'that they ſpeak nothing of the creation, of pro- 'vidence, fall of man, of ſin, of the puniſhment of ſin, 'of Gods Covenants, effectual calling, Adoption, San- 'ctification, Faith, Repentance, Perſeverance, of the 'Law of God, Chriſtian Liberty, and liberty of con- 'ſcience, Religious worſhip, of the Sabbath or Lords 'day, of Marriage and Divorce, the Communion of 'Saints, Church-Government and Diſcipline, of the 'Reſurrection, or of the laſt Judgment. All which the 'Scripture teach as *neceſſary*, and are compriſed in the '*Apoſtles creed*. That the *Aſſemblies* Confeſſion hath 'all theſe, and that with *proofs* of Scripture, which the

Object. 3.

Articles

Anſw. 1. 'Articles want. But they ſhould conſider, that a *Confeſſion of faith* is one thing, and a *Catechiſm* or a *common-place* book to refer ones reading unto, is another. If the Church ſhall think fit to compile one of theſe for the help of young ſtudents, no doubt but all thoſe ſhall be expreſly treated on, though perhaps not in the ſame form or titles. But to conſtitute a *Confeſſion of Faith* of all theſe heads, with the ſeveral *Articles* which the *Aſſembly* hath ſubjoyned, would doubtleſs have excluded many more from *ſubſcription*, than the *Articles* ever did. Eſpecially where they have made that an Article of faith, which never was a *Proteſtant* doctrine, *viz. That the Church Catholick is a viſible and organical body*; whereas it is an article of our *faith* (in the *Apoſtles Creed*) and not of ſenſe: And that, which is laid as the foundation of the uſurpation of the *Biſhops* of *Rome*, by *Bellarmine*, (for either *that*, or ſomewhat *like* it, muſt follow upon that ground) ſo that a fair Bridge is hereby laid from *Thames* to *Tiber* for his *Holineſs* to walk upon. A point univerſally oppoſed by the *Proteſtant* party, except *Peter Ramus*, and perhaps one or two more, althongh of *late* owned by ſome of them, of which * elſe-where. I inſtance in this, that, be it *true* or *falſe*; yet a point of *this* nature, ſhould not have been made an *Article*, for the not ſubſcribing whereto, men muſt have been rejected from the Miniſtry; others there are, that would have ſtuck no doubt with many men, orthodox, able, and godly.

Aſſemblies Confeſſ. *ch.* 35. *Artic.* 2.

Bellarm. de Eccleſ. l. 3. *c.* 2.

* *Vindiciæ Catholicæ*, in anſwer to Mr. *Hudſon*.

2. As to the things themſelves, they are all in effect touched either in the *Articles*, or the *Homilies*, (which are approved by the *Articles*) or in the *Liturgy*, or in the Book of *Ordination*, a branch alſo of the Articles. And the *Articles* of *Ireland*, which are more full in themſelves than ours, and comprehend *in terminis* moſt or all theſe heads, they are taken *verbatim* out of the books now mention'd. And to give ſome inſtances; The *Creation* and *Providence* is mentioned in the firſt *Article of God*, and in the Catechiſm in the Common-prayer-book,

Articles of *Ireland*, *Anno* 1615. whence taken.

and

And more largely in the *Homily* for *Rogation week*, *part* 1 & 2. The *fall of man*, his *ſin*, and *puniſhment* of it, profeſſedly diſcours'd of in the Homily of the *miſery of mankind*, and is touched in the Articles, *Artic.* 9. &. 10. of *Original ſin*, and *Free-will*. *Gods Covenant*, may be underſtood in the Articles of *Juſtification*, and *Predeſtination*, *Artic.* 11. & 17. and is diſcours'd on largely in the Homily of *Salvation*. *Effectual calling* alſo in the ſame 17th. *Article*, and more largely in the Homily of *Faith*. Where alſo of *Adoption*, as likewiſe in the leſſer Catechiſm in the Liturgy. *Faith* in the Article of *Juſtification* by faith. *Sanctification* in the Homily of *good works*, and divers others. *Repentance* hath a proper Homily for it. *Perſeverance* is expreſly ſet down in the 17th. Article. Of the *Law* of God, in the Homily of the miſery of Man. And in the Catechiſm in the Liturgy, ſo far as concerns practice. *Chriſtian liberty* in the Articles of the *Traditions of the Church*. And the Homily of diſobedience and *wilful rebellion*. *Religious worſhip* is the ſubject of the *Liturgy*, And of ſeveral Articles, and of the Homily of the time and place of prayer. The *Sabbath* or *Lords day*, in the Homily of the *time and place of prayer*. Of *Marriage*, both in the Homily of *Matrimony*, and in the *Exhortation at Marriage* in the Common-prayer-book. *Divorce*, as a point of Law, is diſcourſed in the *Canons*. *Communion of Saints*, is the ground of all Exhortations to *Unity*, as the Homily againſt *Contention* and *exhortation* to *Charity*, as love and good works. *Church-government* is the ſubject of *Artic.* 20. & 21. of the *authority of the Church*, *and of General Councils*. And for *Orders*, they are in the Book of *Ordination*. For the *Rules*, in the book of *Canons*, and in the Rubricks in the Liturgy about *Order*, and in the *Commination* there. Of the *Reſurrection*, the Homily on *Eaſter-day*. And of the *laſt Judgment*, in the Homily againſt the fear of *Death*. Seeing therefore, that *moſt* or *all* of theſe heads, are either expreſly treated on, or occaſionally, either in the *Articles* or

branches of them, how ſay they, that they contain nothing of them?

Proofs to Confeſſions.

Laſtly, for the proofs, added in the *Aſſemblies* Confeſſion, not added in the Articles; they know it is not uſual to add Proofs unto *Confeſſions*, as may be ſeen in the Confeſſions of the *Reformed Churches*, where they are rare. And even lately their Brethren of the *Independent* way, publiſhed their Confeſſion without proofs. And unleſs it be that of *New England*, the *Aſſemblies*, and thoſe of the *Separation*; I remember not that I have ſeen any with frequent proofs. And, if I miſtake not, it had not been amiſs, if the *Aſſembly* had kept the *Track* in this, in as much as the Proofs ſometimes, do not infer the Article. In a *Catechiſm*, or *Sermon*, or *Diſpute*, they are more proper, than in a *Confeſſion*. Becauſe *that* is a thing ſuppoſed to be grounded, not in this or that place, but on the *current* of the Scripture. Beſides, Proofs occaſion *Diſpute*, which is abhorrent from the nature of a *Confeſſion*. The places alledg'd may be clear a proof, and yet not ſo to every leſs-intelligent Reader. I conclude this diſcourſe touching the imperfection and defectiveneſs of the Articles, with that conſiderable paſſage of *Eraſmus* to this purpoſe; *Summa religionis noſtræ pax eſt & unanimitas, ea vix conſtare poterit, niſi de quàm poteſt, pauciſſimis definiamus; & in multis liberum relinquamus ſuum cuique judicium, propterea quod ingens ſit rerum plurimarum obſcuritas, &c.* 'The ſum '(ſaith he) of our Religion, is peace and unanimity; of 'which there is little hope, unleſs thoſe things *which ſhall* 'ſhall be enjayned as matters of faith, be as few as may be; 'and that we leave mens judgments free in many things, 'by reaſon that the obſcurity in a number of them, is ex'ceeding great. I have done with the firſt general head, the *Doctrine* and *Articles*, wherein, as being the *foundation*, the more time hath been expended.

Eraſm. preſat. in Hilarium.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Worſhip, *and of the Directory thereof, the* Liturgy.

SECT. I.

Of Worſhip.

THE next is *Worſhip*, wherein the thing eſpecially to be obſerved is *Purity*, as in Doctrine *Truth*. Now the purity of worſhip, I take it, is defin'd by the *matter* whereof it is compoſed, the *object* whereunto, and *medium* or mean by which it is directed; if theſe be right, the Worſhip it ſelf is *pure*. For the evidencing that ours is ſuch, conſider we it firſt in it *ſelf*, and then in the *Appendixes* of it, the *Ceremonies*. 1. In it *ſelf*, and ſo our Worſhip in the Church of *England* is directed *onely* to the onely *true God* in the *Unity* of Eſſence and *Trinity* of Perſons, the Maker and Governor of all things. And the Worſhip which we tender unto him, is for *matter* according to his will, as ſhall be proved. Laſtly, it is by the onely and alone *medium* and *mediation of God manifeſted in the fleſh*, the *Man Chriſt Jeſus*; but of the *Creatures*, (whether the *bleſſed Virgin* (although Θεοτόκον and Mother of God) or *Saint*, or *Angel*, we joyn none with him; as is to be ſeen in the frequent cloſure of our prayers in the publick Liturgy; *Through our* ONELY *Mediator and Advocate, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*. Which is alſo proved negatively; becauſe there is in the Liturgy no prayer,

2. VVorſhip. 1. In it ſelf.

Purity of it, wherein conſiſting.

That of the Church of *England* ſuch.

The ſecond Collect in the Letany.

neither directly nor indirectly, to any but God himself, nor *by* any other but *Jesus Christ*. 2. In respect of *Ceremonies* which are annexed to it. Now *Ceremonies*, being but the *appendixes* and *circumstances* of Worship, either as *ornaments* or *advantages* to it; unless they be such, as at least imply either another *object*, or person to be worshipped than God; or another *Mediator* than Christ, and so a *contradiction* to the worship whereon they hang; How should they destroy the purity of worship? Perturb and trouble it they may by their multitude, or unusefulness; but *vitiate* it they cannot. Now all our Ceremonies are so *few* in number, and so *explained*, either by *Doctrine* or *Canon*, or other publick writings for their * *innocency* and *use*, that they seem not capable of the former evills, though they had been all urged. But for the matter of our worship, the most weighty men of the other ways, do not much except against it; I am sure I have heard one of the best of them acknowledge lately; *That there was nothing in the Common-prayer-book for the matter of it, against the word of God.* Now all separation is a division, all division tends to dissipation. But to commit this against a Church, whose worship is for the matter sound, and the Ceremonies not opposite thereunto, because some of them have been abused formerly to superstition, savours of worse then their weakness, who refused the meat, though in the *shambles*, because it had been once consecrated unto an Idol. But rather take we his advice, ——— *misericorditer igitur corripiat homo quod potest; quod autem non potest patienter ferat, & cum dilectione gemat atque lugeat, donec ille desuper emendet & corrigat, aut usque ad messem differat erradicare zizania, & paleam ventilare.* 'Let a man therefore gently amend what he may, and 'and what he cannot let him bear with patience, and 'lament with love, until God from above do reform it 'or correct it; or defer, until the harvest, the rooting out 'of the tares, and the winnowing of the chaff.

2. In the Ceremonies, which destroy not the substance of worship.

*Dr. *Burgess*, of the three innocent Ceremonies. See the form of private Baptism and Can. 30. with the Rubricks.

Mr. *Ph. N.*

1 Cor. 10. 25, 28.

Aug. contr. epist. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 2.

But

But in particular, the Ceremonies are but *four* eſpecially. *Bowing* at the naming *Jeſus*. The *Croſs in Bapt.* *Keeling at the Communion*; And the *Surpliſs* in reading Service.

Omitting what hath been ſatisfactorily diſcourſed on theſe by others: as [a] King *James*, [b] The Canons of 1603. *Can.* 30. [c] Mr. *Hooker*, [d] Mr. *Burgeſs*, and divers more. I ſhall for the firſt, recite the Judgment of *Antiquity*, repreſented by St. *Jerome*, on thoſe words of *Iſaiah*; *By my ſelf have I ſworn that every knee ſhall bow to me*, &c. *Hoc jurat, quòd Idolis derelictis, omne genu ei flectat, cœleſtium terreſtrium, & infernorum: & omnis per illum juret lingua mortalium. In quo perſpicuè ſignificatur populus Chriſtianus.* Moris *eſt enim eccleſiaſticis, Chriſto Genu flectere. Quod* Judæi *mentis* ſuperbiam *demonſtrantes, omnino non faciunt.* This he ſwears; 'That forſaking Idols, every knee ſhould 'bow to him, of things in Heaven, in the Earth, and 'under the Earth; and every tongue of mortal men 'ſwear by him; in which is clearly ſignified the *Chriſtian* 'people; for it is the *cuſtome* of the Church, to *BOW* 'the *KNEE* to *Chriſt*. Which the *Jews*, declaring 'the *pride* of their hearts, will by no means do. Wherein, we may note two cauſes of refuſing to bow at the naming of the *Lord Jeſus*: Firſt, Jewiſh *unbelief*; and ſecondly, The like *haughtineſs* and *pride* of ſpirit. To which we may add in reſpect of ſome, I hope, a needleſs fear of *ſuperſtition*.

[a] Confer. *Hampt. Court.*
[b] Can. 30.
[c] Eccleſ. *Polit.*
[d] The three Innocent ceremonies.
Hieron. in Iſa. 45.23.

1. Bowing at the name of Jeſus.

Explained.

Touching the next, the *Croſs* in *Baptiſme*; Although I cannot hope to ſatisfie thoſe whom the Canon of the Church hath not ſatisfied. Againſt which Canon, the late Authors of the *Treatiſe* of the *neceſſity of Reformation* have this Exception: that it hath not with its reaſons, added either *Scripture* or *Fathers*. Whereas it mentions both, though naming none. By this reaſon, they may decline all the *Articles*, yea, and moſt *Confeſſions* in *Europe*, which generally omit both, as being too *pædantical* for a confeſſion, or the Canons of a Church. Wherein alſo

2. Croſs in Bapt. Can. 30.

Pag. 60. *Ed.* 2.

also their iniquity as well as unskilfulness appeareth. Who say of the Rubrick explaining the use of the ceremony of *kneeling* at the communion; that the Compilers had *solidly* and *excellently* declared in what sense they intended *kneeling* at the Communion; omitted in the Book of Q. *Eliz.* and yet that, hath neither *Scripture* nor *Father* alledged. But this pleased, because it ministred *quarrel* against the present Common-prayer-book. I might refer for more ample satisfaction to the exact diligence in this point also, of that *hyperaspistes* of our Church in these matters Mr. *Hooker*. But give me leave to close with the testimony for the practice of it, and the reason of that practice out of *Austine*, not only the Vulgar one: that *we should not be ashamed of Christ crucified*; but one somewhat deeper. *Ecce venturi estis ad fontem sanctum, diluemini baptismo —— Ægyptiis insequentibus Israelitas, similia erant vestra peccata, persequentibus, sed usque ad mare rubrum. Quid est usque ad mare rubrum? Usque ad fontem, Christi cruce & sanguine consecratum —— lanceâ perforatum est latus Christi & manavit pretium nostrum.* Ideo SIGNO *Christi, signatur Baptismus, id est aqua ubi tangimini, & quasi in mare rubrum transitis.* 'Behold, you are coming 'unto the *holy fountain*, ye shall be washed in *Baptisme*. 'Your *sins* that follow you, are like the *Ægyptians* that 'pursued the *Israelites*; but how far? but unto the Red 'Sea. What is it unto the Red Sea? As far as the '*Font*, consecrated with the CROSSE and blood of 'Christ. Christs side was pierced with a spear, and our 'redemption flowed out. *Therefore Baptisme*, that is, 'water, where you are dipped or sprinkled, and as it 'were pass into the Red Sea, is signed with the *sign of* '*Christ*. Thus far he; wherein he signifieth both the *use* of it by the *Antient* Church in Baptisme. And also the *reason*, that it might represent by what suffering and means, the remission of our sins by the blood of Christ applyed in Baptisme, was obtained and brought unto effect. I conclude this with *Bucers* judgment of this ceremony

Pag. of the inserted sheet, the third.

Eccles. Polit. li. 5. § 65.

Serm. de Temp. 119. cap. 8.

Why the Cross in Bapt.

ny as enjoined in *our* Liturgy. *Signum hoc, non tam, quòd eſt uſus in Eccleſia* Antiquiſſimi, *quàm quòd eſt admodum ſimplex & præſentis admonitionis* Crucis *Chriſti; adhiberi nec indecens nec inutile exiſtimo, ſi adhibeatur modò purè intellectum, & religioſè excipiatur, nullâ nec ſuperſtitione adjunctâ, nec elementi ſervitute, aut vulgari conſuetudine.* 'This ſign (of the *Croſs* in Bapt. for 'of that he is paſſing his cenſure) not ſo much, becauſe 'it is of *moſt antient uſe* in the Church, as becauſe it is 'ſimple, and of preſent admonition of the *Croſs of* '*Chriſt*; I think it neither undecent nor unprofitable 'to be uſed. Provided it be rightly underſtood, and pi-'ouſly received, without *ſuperſtition* or ſervitude to the 'very ſign, or of common *cuſtome*. Thus far he. *In Script. Angl. in Cenſur. Liturg. Angl. c. 12. de Sign. Crucis in fronte Baptizand.*

The third is *kneeling at the Communion.* A ceremony which ſome moſt of all, others ſcruple; and yet the Brethren now mentioned, who *ſtrain* at every *gnat*, ſwallow this *camel* very ſmoothly. For they ſay, 'the Ru-'brick named above, hath ſolidly and excellently decla-'red it. We will not refuſe, *nec ab hoſte doceri*, to hear truth, though preached of ſtrife and envy: as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, the rather, becauſe it may alſo oyl ſome other minds, exulcerated likewiſe. The Rubrick is this: 'Whereas it is ordained in the Book of Com. prayer, in 'the Adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, that the 'Communicants kneeling, ſhould receive the holy Com-'munion: which thing being well meant for a ſignifica-'tion of the humble and grateful acknowledgment of the 'benefits of Chriſt, given unto the worthy receiver; and 'to avoid the profanation and diſorder, which about the 'holy Communion might elſe enſue; leſt yet the ſame 'kneeling might be thought or taken otherwiſe; we do 'declare; that it is not meant thereby, that any *adora-'tion* is done or ought to be done, either unto the Sacra-'mental bread and wine, there bodily received; nor 'unto any real and *eſſential* preſence there being of 'Chriſts natural fleſh and blood; for as concerning the 'Sacramental bread and wine, they remain ſtill in their 'very Kneeling at the Commun. Matth. 23. Phil 1. The Rubrick about kneeling at the Lords Supper.

'very natural ſubſtances, and therefore may not be ado-
'red; for that were *idolatry* to be abhorred of all faith-
'full Chriſtians. And as concerning the natural body
'and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, they are in Heaven,
'and not here; for it is contrary to the truth of Chriſts
'natural body to be in moe places then one at one time.
This is the Rubrick; the doctrine whereof being *definitively* preſcribed in the *twenty eighth Article* of Religion; and *diffuſely* for popular audience, handled in the Homily of the *worthy receiving of the Sacrament*; might without any great peril be omitted, eſpecially as it ſeems not being confirmed by Parl. as being ſent when the Book was printed off, as we have noted elſewhere. But as to the matter of that Rubrick, ſeeing neither Scripture nor Father is alledged, nor a *third part* ſo much ſpoken for ſatisfaction, as in the Canon for explic. of the Croſs in Baptiſm; why may not this as well as that ſatisfie? The heads of which arguments for the Croſs, in that Canon, being theſe: 1. The *Apoſtles* ſo far honoured the name of the Croſs, that under it they comprehend Chriſt and all his benefits. 2. It began to be in uſe and reverend eſtimation in the *Primitive* Ch. even in the Baptiſm of their children and otherwiſe. The oppoſition to which would have been a note of an enemy of Chriſt. 3. That though abuſed in *Popery*, yet being purged from the ſuperſtitious opinions had of it there, and being of uſe as a token that *we ſhould not be aſhamed of Chriſt crucified*; and as *preſs-money* to engage us to fight under his banner againſt our ſpiritual enemies, it was approved both in *Ed. 6.* time by the *Martyrs* and other Confeſſors, and by *Bucer* in his cenſure of the Liturgy, and by the Confeſſions of the *Reformed Churches*. It being cautioned, 1. That it is no part of the *ſubſtance* of Baptiſm. 2. That the child is both baptized, and received into the Congregation, *before* the ſigning with the Croſs. 3. Becauſe it is in it ſelf *indifferent*, but being *injoyned* by authority, ought not by private men to be neglected: which arguments, ſeem as full for this, as did the former

Artic. 28.

Hom. of the Sacram. *Tom. 2.*

Reaſons for the Croſs in Bapt. out of the Canon. Note.

Cautions.

mer for the *kneeling*. But for kneeling at the Sacram. we have alſo as in the * former, the ſuffrage of *Reformed Churches* in allowance, and in ſome caſes in practice alſo. The *French* Churches in their late Apology written by Monſieur *Joh. Daille:* ſay, 'Thanks be to God 'we are not ſo ill taught, as to *ſcruple the* * *receiving the* '*Sacrament on our knees:* Our Brethren of *England* 'never receive it otherwiſe, and when we receive it 'with them, we do very readily conform our ſelves to 'their order. Thus they; and this for that ceremony.

* See *Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. ca.* 19. *& in Epiſt.* 56. *cap.* 7. *Hooker pol. l.* 5. § 58.

* *Apolog.* of the French Churches tranſlated by my learned friend, Mr. *Th. Smith.* Printed *Camòr.* 1653. chap. 12.

4.
The Surpliſs.

The laſt is, the *Surpliſs*. Touching the *Antiquity* whereof, remitting the Reader to our fore-mentioned * Author and others; of the *lawfulneſs* and *uſe*, only thus much. That which had once an *Inſtitution* for ſuch an end, and ever a *uſefulneſs natural* thereunto; cannot by any abuſe or inverſion, loſe what it hath from God and nature. Although our *fancies* run never ſo ſtrong in diſcourſe, and reaſoning in oppoſition, yet can we not reſtrain nor take off our affections, but they will move according to the activity of thoſe *objects*, our ſenſes let in unto our minds. God appointed once the Prieſts in their Functions to uſe *Garments* for *honour* and *veneration*; and among them this of the *white* and *linnen garment*. We cannot ſay, that this was more *typical*, then *ſignificative in general* and *exemplary*. Some things were of common reaſon and uſe then. *White* and *light* are not only the *emblemes*, but the *incentives* alſo of *purity and chearfulneſs*; as are the *ſadder* colours, of *gravity* and *ſeriouſneſs*. *All* which, are neceſſary requiſites unto *Gods* ſervice, and not only ſignified by ſuch habits, but excited thereby alſo. If there were no impreſſions upon our minds by ſuch things, why appeared the *Angels* in *white raiment?* Yea, why our Saviour *Chriſt* in the Mount in that habit? And in his Glory as now in Heaven.

* *Hooker Pol. l.* 5. § 29. Burgeſs of the three innocent ceremonies. Conference H. Court.

Exod. 28.

Joh. 20. Matth. 17. Apoc. 1.

ven? But because that *contraries* illustrate one another; Suppose we *Joshuah* the High-Priest in his *filthy garments* ministring the holy worship; would it not as much disaffect us as it did the *Angel*, who commanded that they should be taken from him; namely, as undecent for the exercise of the holy Function? The difference in nature betwixt the worship of God and civil administrations, does not hinder, but that some useful accidents may be common to both. If a *Judge* should ascend the Bench in his doublet and hose only, less reverence surely would his *office* have, though no less authority. We are *men* even in Gods service, as well as in civil affairs, and cannot but receive impression in it, by the outward decency or uncomelinesse of administrations. As is also implyed by the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 14.40. That the Church of *Rome* hath abused the Surpliss, is its commendation; in as much as *harlots* affect sometime, the habit of the gravest Matrons, that with the robe, they may gain also the reputation of sobriety. To hate *the Garment spotted with the flesh*, will reach the *Church*, rather then the Surpliss, yea, the *Baptisme* and the *Priesthood* which hath been once polluted. This paves a high way to full and plenary *Separation*. But of ceremonies enough.

Zach. 3.4,5.

Explained.

Object. 1.

Answ.

Object. 2.

Answ.

Object. 3.

Answ.

SECT. II.

Objections particular against the matter of our Worship.

Real. necess. of Reform. Tit. 2. of Worship.

OF Worship in particular in respect of the *matter* of it, and the *Exceptions made against it*, discourse wee now. And here wee have these former Brethren Assailants also. Where we are first to note, that the very same and many *more*, and more *material* exceptions have been taken by their predecessors in these diffe-

differences, as by *Cartwright*, the *non-Conformists* at the Conference at *Hampton Court*, and others. And Replyes have been given Learnedly and largely by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, Mr. *R. Hooker*, King *James* and ſeveral more. Of which Replyes the Brethren take no notice, but put *Crambe centies cocta*, objections, that by being often beaten, are grown threed-bare; and yet as Interpolators and *Brokers*, furbiſh them up and hold them forth for *freſh ware*. But to the matter, which before we come unto, we muſt correct theſe correctors. And firſt for their unreverent and unchriſtian *Language*, reflecting on men who are with *God*, were inſtruments in the Reformation, and laid down their lives to confirm it. It is a Proverb among ſome, *Qui vitio linguæ laborat, non ſanatur neque in hoc ſeculo neque in futuro.* 'That he 'that is affected with a diſtemper in his tongue, is not 'curable either in this world, or in the world to come. Take a taſte of their *gall* and *wormwood*, which they have given *Chriſt* to drink in his faithful members; namely, theſe ſpeeches: *They abuſe the people*, yea, *Magiſtracy*, and *God himſelf*. *Our bold Maſters*. *Falſe and a meer cheat put upon the people of God*. *Taken out of the Maſs-book*. *Apocrypha* contains *meer deluſions* and *lyes*. Prieſt, *a meer ſuperſtitious and Antichriſtian name*. Two Rubricks, *blind guides that lead into the Ditch*. *Nonſenſe* or *worſe*. *Superſtitious Antique Croſſings*. That ſaying, *At what time a ſinner doth repent*, carryes many to Hell. *Te Deum taken out of the Maſs-book*. To ſay the three children praiſed God in the fire, is a *belying the Canonical Text*. *Another lye to the Preface*. The peoples anſwering the Miniſter, is *will-worſhip*. Becauſe the Collects appointed for certain daies, are to be read ſome daies after, it is ſaid to be, *A horrible abuſing of Gods name*. That in the form of Baptiſme, it is ſaid, that the child by Bapt. receives remiſſion of ſins, *is mans falſhood*. When the children are ſaid to perform their Covenants by their Sureties; it is (ſay the Brethren) *a meer tale*. Touching which ſpeeches; if we may not

Againſt *Cartwright*. *Eccleſ. Polit. Conf. H. Court. Burgeſs* of the three Innoc. cerem. *Aliique*.

In the inſerted ſheet. p. 4.

Proverb. Rabb. ap. Druſ.

The Br. revilings.

Inſerted ſheet page 6.

p. 20.

p. 23.

p. 24.

p. 27.

p. 28.

p. 29.

p. 30.

p. 31.

Jam. 3. ſay with the Apoſtle, 'That ſuch rancorous ones pro-'ceed not from the wiſdome that is from above, which 'is pure and peaceable; but from that which is earthy, 'ſenſual and devilliſh, even a tongue ſet on fire of Hell, 'diſcovering perſons whoſe Religion is vain: yet ſurely we may affirm with another, 'That there will come a 'time, when three words uttered with *charity and meek-*'*neſs*; ſhall receive a far more bleſſed reward, then three 'thouſand Volumes written with *diſdainful ſharpneſs of* '*wit*.

Chap. 1. 26, 27.

Hook. Eccleſ. Pol. in Præfat. n. 2.

Their raſhneſs

Next, Their raſhneſs is alſo unexcuſable, who to ſatisfie themſelves upon their adverſaries; conſider not that they expoſe the cauſe, and ſouls of the people to the common adverſary; by making theſe believe, they have ſerved God all this while in a *Superſtitious* and *Popiſh* way; and that their *Service-Book* is ſo corrupt, that they will not know what to fix upon, and ſo *overthrow the faith not of ſome* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) only, but of *many*. Again, I would have that charitable opinion of them, as to think they did not act wholly againſt their conſcience; if ſo; their headineſs is the more blame-worthy, that they would engage in the face of the world, and to the H. Court of *Parl.* in things, in which they were not ſufficiently inſtructed. So that they do juſtly incur that of *Solomon*. *He that anſwers a matter before he underſtands it, it is a ſhame and reproach unto him*; as ſhall immediately appear. They ſay, 'That ſundry prayers are 'added, not confirmed by Parl. which becauſe an indefinite expreſſion, might make the common Reader think of *many*; whereas themſelves afterward mention the number and the prayers, *viz.* one for the *Queen* or *King*, one for the *Biſhops*, and one for *Q. Anne and the Royal Progeny*.

2 Tim. 2.

Prov. 18. 13.

Inſerted ſheet p. 4.

Pag. 28. n. 6.

3. Ibid. The Br. calumny of the Liturgy.

Next, 'That theſe Additions have emboldened ſome 'to make *alterations at their pleaſure*: Another indefinite and *boundleſs* expreſſion, leading the Reader into an uncertainty, what to reſt on as eſtabliſhed. Whereas they have not inſtanced in *one line* or *word*, in the *body* and

text

text of the Liturgy it ſelf (the Prayers and Exhortations) that is altered from what was by Parliament eſtabliſhed. They proceed; for inſtance, ſay they, the Prayer for the Queen and Royal Family, before the year 1627. began thus: 'Almighty God, which haſt promiſed 'to be a Father of thine *Elect*, and of their ſeed. But now thus: 'Almighty God, the *fountain* of all goodneſs. 'Which change, ſay they, was a great preſumption, of 'which no reaſon *can be* diſcovered, unleſs this: That the 'word *Elect* diſtaſted the favourers of Popiſh Arminia-'niſm. Now firſt again, *oportet--- eſſe memorem*. Did they not ſay with this breath but now, that theſe were added beſides the Act; and might they not then be chang'd without preſumption by the ſame Authority that enjoyn'd them? Again, this diſcovers their unſufficiency for this undertaking; not having read the moſt known and publick books of theſe Arguments. As in particular, that wherein this is fully opened, who did it, and upon what occaſion, and this delivdred at the famous Cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Pryane*. where it is ſhewn, 'That the *King* did acknowledge, 'that the Alteration was made by his ſpecial di-'rection, as having then no children to pray for. After this follows for fault in the matter of the Liturgy, a quarrel with the old tranſlation of the Pſalms, Epiſtles and Goſpels. Againſt theſe they alledge in general: 'That being there is a *new* autho ſied (and yet how 'authoriſed, if the Kings Proclamation do not oblige 'without particular Act of Parliament, as they imply?) 'Tranſlation, the ſtanding of thoſe parts of Scripture 'after the old, cauſes ſcandal, they ſay, and makes ſport 'for *Papiſts* and *Atheiſts*, to find how much our tran-'ſlations publickly uſed, do enterferre and jar; and how 'corrupt ſome of them be. But ſurely the *Church of God* hath been always of another mind. And *Origen* much commended for his edition of the *Hexapla*, or the Bible in ſix ſeveral editions, whereof five were in the ſame language, (*viz.* the *Greek*) and ſome of them done by

Lord *Cant.* ſpeech in *Star-chamber* at the cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwick*, p. 27, 28.

Inſerted sheet P. 4, 5, 6, 7.

pag. 62. *Quær.* 4.

Inſert. ſheet, *pag.* 5. & 7.

The variety of Tranſlations uſeful. *Euſeb. H. l.* 6. *c. c.* 15, 16. *Hieron. de Script. n.* 64.

by *Heretick*s. St. *Austin* alſo writing his *Directory for Students* in Divinity (*de doctrinâ Chriſtianâ*) ſpeaking of the variety of the Latine Tranſlations out of the Greek, ſaith: *Aug. de doctr. Chriſt. l. 2. c. 11, 12.* *Ilt enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, & aliquantulum facultatis ſibi utriuſque linguæ habere videbatur, auſus eſt interpretari. Quæ quidem res plus adjuvit intelligentiam, quam impedivit, ſi modo legentes non ſint negligentes. Nam nonnullas obſcuriores ſententias, plurium codicum ſæpe manifeſtavit inſpectio, ſicut illud, &c.* In the young times 'of the Church, if there chanced to fall into any mans 'hand a *Greek* copy (of the Bible) and he conceited he 'had ſome little skill in both the Tongues (*Greek* 'and *Latine*) he took the boldneſs to tranſlate; which 'thing notwithſtanding, doth *more help than hinder* un-'derſtanding, if ſo be that the Reader be not idle; for 'many obſcure places are cleared by comparing of ſeve-'ral tranſlations, as that of *Iſaiah*, &c. In which teſti-
1. mony we have two things; firſt, the benefit the Church
2. may reap by variety of tranſlations. Secondly, that in this variety, there is even profit to be reaped by the *Uſher Epiſt. ad L. Capel de Textus Hebr. varianſib. Lect. pag. 7. 9, 10. Precipue verò p. 17.* worſt. As the Greek tranſlation of the LXX it ſelf (as now we have it) is not onely the worſt that is, but ever will be, ſaid the learned *Primate* of *Ireland*, and implies as much in print: And yet of this did our *Savior* and the *Apoſtles* make often uſe, without any ſcruple. And if the *Papiſts* were enemies abſolutely to varietie of Tranſlations, why with ſo great charge did the *Phillip* the 2d. King of *Spain* publiſh that *ſplendid Edition* of the Bible in ſo many languages? What the agreement is betwixt their books of publick *ſervice*, and the *vulgar* Bible, is not material; ſeeing the common people have not allowance for the reading of the Scripture. But in particular, there may be inſtances given, wherein, if the literal ſenſe of the Original is not better rendred by the old Tranſlation, even by that of ours excepted againſt; yet is it made more plain and eaſie. Again, as ſome perſons keep the meaſure of their childrens growth, what if ſome

weakneſs

weakneſs of tranſlation be left, that the Church may perceive its proceeding and going forward. Thirdly, that of St. *Jerom*, *Neque enim nova ſic cudimus, ut vetera deſtruamus*: 'We do take up new things, that we muſt not 'wholly aboliſh the old; may be of uſe here. For accuſtomed things, though not the beſt, are not always ſafe to be removed. *Ipſa quippe mutatio conſuetudinis, etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbat.* 'The alteration of cuſtom, though it help by its uſefulneſs, yet 'it diſturbs by its novelty, as we ſaw above. As alſo the ſame Father in the like caſe wrote unto St. *Jerom*; *Movit, quiddam longè aliter abs te poſitum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium ſenſibus ibi memoriæque inveteratum, & tot ætatum ſucceſſionibus decantatum. Factus eſt tantus in plebe, &c.* 'Something, ſaith he, that 'thou haſt tranſlated far otherwiſe in *Jona* the Prophet, 'than was fixed in the minds and memories of the au- 'ditory, and by the courſe of ſo many ages, now grown 'as it were a common ſong, did move till it came to a 'tumult among the people, &c. Where they ſay; 'That *three verſes* are added in the 14 Pſalm, not in 'the Greek of 72. but onely in the *Popiſh* vulgar Bibles; this is one of their uſual miſtakes. For firſt they are in the *Roman* and *Paris* Edition of the Greek, and in many antient Eaſtern Pſalters, as is noted in thoſe Bibles. As alſo are they in that Edition ſo magnifi'd by *Auſtin*, which he followed in his Expoſition of the Pſalms. But howſoever, they are Scripture, and are found altogether in *Rom.* 3. as themſelves acknowledge. I might add, that they are alſo in that follow'd by *Jerom*, if that Commentary upon the Pſalmes be his, which *Bellarmine* ſaith is *obſcura quæſtio*, a difficult Problem. When they add, 'that the Tranſlation of the Epiſtles and Goſpels 'is as antient as 25 *Hen.* 8. and taken out of the *Maſs-* '*book*. This is added to make this Tranſlation odious; but ſure they will grant, that the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* in the *Maſs-book* were firſt taken out of the *Scripture* it ſelf. But of the *Maſs-book* in general we have ſpoken above, and

Hieron. præfat. in proverb. ad Heliodor. Tom. 3.

Aug. Junuario ep. 118. cap. 5. idem. Hieron. Epiſt. 10.

Inſert. ſheet, pag. 5. *Object. Anſw.*

Aug. in Pſ. 13.

Hieron. in Pſ. 13.

Inſert. ſheet, pag. 6. *Object. Anſw.*

and ſhewen, that every thing in it ought not to be rejected. Laſtly, for the *particular* places they name, ſome of them have been objected and anſwered long ſince. And the difference not overthrowing either *faith* or *manners*, there being alſo a *correct* tranſlation for conſtant uſe appointed, and theſe but onely in the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels*, which are to be uſed not ſo frequently; theſe faults moreover not being *many*, nor of any great *conſequence*, are venial. That of *Hezekiah* his deſtroying the *brazen Serpent*, might have here been omitted having been ſo fully replyed unto, and the diſproportion ſhewn by a learned Pen ſo long ago. And afterward briefly by a learned *King*. Of which Books and Anſwers, the Brethren take not the leaſt notice, whether out of ignorance, or want of ingenuity, may be left *in medio* without danger of the Law, I hope.

Hook. eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 19. Conf. Hamp. Court. pag. 45, 46.

Hook. eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 65. Conf. Hamp. Court, pag. 73.

Neceſſ. Reform. pag. 18. 1. The Kalender.

Next, after the man that bore the Armour, comes the *Champion* himſelf; after the *inſerted ſheet*, the *ſolemn treatiſe*, where the firſt title is of the *Kalender*. And the main quarrel againſt it, for appointing ſo much of the *Apocrypha* to be read; of which above. To the particulars; if any thing ſound toward error, or be indeed droſs, ſhould that deprive the Church of the gold contained in the reſt? Do we not read of the *Midwifes* lying, of *Abrahams* twice, of *Rachels* ſtealing her fathers Idols, and many other in Scripture? which ought not therefore to be rejected. Again, if it were requiſite to ſpend time in the particulars, there might not want perhaps a probable defence, of what either the daughter of *Raguel*, or *Raphael* the Angel, or *Aſmodeus* the evil Spirit, or *Judith*, are there ſaid to have done or ſpoken. *Jacob* ſaid, 'He obtained 'the portion of *Sichem* with his ſword and with his bowe; much after that ſenſe that *Judith* there ſpeaks, according unto *Calvins* Expoſition. 'Simeon and *Levi* might

1. In the Anſwer to the fourth general Exception.

2.

3. Tob. 3.

Jus victoriæ ad ſe transfert, quaſi divinitus ſibi conceſſum——— quia in ejus gratiam homicidis Deut peperceret. Calv. in Geneſ. 48, 22.

have

'have a laudable zeal, as *Judith* ſpeaks, and God might 'uſe it in his ſecret counſel, and did ſo, to purchaſe a 'place for *Jacob*; And *Jacob* own the Land as his con-'queſt', though he deteſt the action. The like may be ſaid touching *Judith's* prayer; as no doubt *Jahel* had hers, before ſhe cut of *Siſera's* head, whom alſo ſhe ſlew by the *deceit of her lips*, as well as *Judith* did *Holofernes*. Did not *Rachel* and *Leah* with great Religion bleſs God, for the children that they had made their husband *Jacob* beget upon their Handmaids. Times and perſons muſt be noted. And every thing in Scripture is not to be imitated. Elſe we might ſay as the Brethren, 'Are not theſe gallant chapters, to be read in the 'Churches? The examples then in Scripture muſt be interpreted by *rule*, and may not alſo the *Apocrypha*?

Judg. 4.

Geneſ. 30.

The next Regiment aſſaulted by the Brethren are the *Redcoats*, the *Rubricks* (ſo called, becauſe antiently written in red Letters) and are directions how to officiate and read the Common-prayer-book; the firſt whereof is cloathed, not with a coat of *Male*, but of a *Prieſt*, at which they *fire*. They ſay, *Prieſt* is the old ſtyle and title in the *Maſs-book*. This *Maſs-book* is the *Gorgons* head, wherewith they terrifie all aſſailants. But, was the *Maſs-book ever in Engliſh*? True indeed, King *Edward* the ſixth, for the appeaſing of a rebellion told the Rebels ſo; but that was not, as it was the Maſs-book, but as it was a *Prayer-book*, as little as might be, at that time, different. Beſides, that prayer-book is not the ſame with ours now, for it hath been reformed more than once ſince. The *Maſs* then never having been in *Engliſh*, the word *Prieſt* could not be taken thence. Yea, but it anſwers to *Sacerdos* in the Maſs-book, which ſignifies Prieſt: That's the Brethrens tranſlation, to avoid *Presbyter* out of the Maſs-book, whoſe evident derivative *Prieſt* is, with very little alteration. If this pleaſe not, may one more antient and more cheerful be admitted, *viz.*

2. The Rubricks.

Fox Act. & Mon. in Edw. 6.

Prieſt.

Walter Mapes Arch-deac. of *Oxf.* in King *Johns* time. *M. Scr.*

Sacerdos enim eſt cùm ſacra dederit;
Tunc verò Presbyter, cùm ter præbiberit. i. e.

When ſacred things he gives, he is a *Prieſt*;
A *Presbyter*, when thrice before the reſt
He takes his Cup, and ſo begins the Feaſt.

3. Thirdly, Is it equipollent the word Prieſt to a ſacrifice? ſurely not in the *etymology*, for it ſignifies onely an adminiſtration of *holy things*: nor in the uſe; unleſs we ſhall ſay, that in the *Primitive* Church they owned a *proper and real ſacrifice*. Theſe Brethren with the finger point us to take notice, 'That they have ſeriouſly con-
Pag. 47. 'ſulted *Antiquity*; did they never in all their reading meet (amongſt a multitude of the like) with ſuch a paſſage as this: *Cùm hæc tanta ac talia & multa alia exempla præcedant, quibus* Sacerdotalis *authoritas & poteſtas divina dignatione formatur, quales putas eſſe eos, qui* Sacerdotum *hoſtes, & contra eccleſiam catholicam rebelles, nec præmonentis domini comminatione, nec futuri judicii ultione terrentur, &c.* 'Whereas theſe, ſuch, ſo
Cypr. lib. 1. ep. 3. 'great, and ſo many examples have gone before us (of 'the admonitions and executions of the judgments of 'God againſt the deſpiſers of the *Prieſthood*) whereby 'the authority and power of *Prieſthood* is by Gods *ſpe-* 'cial providence eſtabliſhed; what *kind of men* wouldſt 'thou take them to be, who being *enemies* to *Prieſts*, and 'rebels againſt the *Catholick* Church, are neither terri-'fied with the Lords forewarning, nor with the puniſh-'ment of the judgment to come. And what more uſual than that title among the Antients? yet without the notion of a proper ſacrifice, and ſo may we. If any ſuper-
Act. 27. ſtition have been joyned to it ſince; yet what hinders, but that St. *Luke* may call the Ship by the uſual name of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, although it had it from thoſe *Idols*? Why muſt we needs always (for often the Brethren acknowledge the Liturgy uſes the word *Miniſter*) declare

clare our ſelves ſo far diſtant from thoſe, whom in *Religion* we have left, as that we will not uſe our *Mothers* tongue, becauſe they once have ſpoken with it? unleſs it be, that we have ſo delivered them unto Sathan, that we will alienate their minds from us and from the truth, leſt at any time they ſhould be converted by it. Yet we refuſe not the other title, that of *Miniſter*, ſo there be no *deſign* in aſſuming it, as there may be in caſting the other wholly off. And may not that name, as much *lower* the *Officers* of God, if ſo be, that be not done, even *thereby* already, (which perhaps diſcerned, hath occaſion'd the aſſumption of a more ſpecious one, *viz.* that of *Presbyter*) as the other had in it peril, either of pride or ſuperſtition. Although, to ſpeak as the thing is, what man is there now, eſpecially Miniſter, (for whoſe direction the Rubricks chiefly are) that reading of that word in the Liturgy, do ſo much as dream of an *Altar* or a *Sacrifice*, but takes it onely as ſignifying the Officer of holy things in the Church. Certain it is, *Bucer*, *Melanchthon*, *Piſtorius* in the *Liturgy* compoſed for *Colen*, do indifferently uſe this word with Paſtor and Miniſter. But enough have we converſed with theſe *Nominals*. Next for want of fault in the things themſelves, they labour to find one in their *oppoſition*. That becauſe one *Rubrick* appoints the *Collect*, *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel* to be read all the week, that is appointed for the *Sunday*; and another *Rubrick* runs thus: 'The Collects, Epiſtles, 'and Goſpels, to be uſed at the holy Communion; there-'fore theſe were not intended to be read, but at the 'Lords Supper, and ſo contrary to the other, when there is no Communion that appoints them to be read every day.

pag. 22.

Contradiction in the Rubricks.

But how doth it follow, that becauſe theſe *Collects*, *Epiſtles*, and *Goſpels* are appointed to be read at the Communion, that they may not be read at other times? yea, the former Rubrick appoints them. If there be a Communion, they are to be read; if there be none, they may be read. That the Communion was antiently

Anſw. Propoſitio particularis in materia non neceſſaria, æquipollet indefinitæ.

adminiſtred every day in the Church of *England*, is not proved by the *Rubrick* after the *firſt Exhortation* at the holy Communion, for there is none ſuch there, nor any Rubrick at all that I find. Yea, the Rubrick after the Collects at the end of the Communion, expreſly ſaith: 'Upon the holy-days, if there be no Communion, ſhall 'be ſaid all that is appointed at the Communion. Whence firſt it appears, they did not think any contradiction to be betwixt the two Rubricks above mention'd. 1. Secondly, that the Communion was not neceſſary to be adminiſter'd every day, which appears further in the next Rubrick, which appoints, 2. that in Cathedral Churches, &c. they ſhall receive the Communion every *Sunday* at the leaſt; as ſuppoſing there may be *Holy-days* in the week, wherein there might be no Communion. 3.

Object. p. 23. n. 3.

3. Confeſſion to be pronounced by one of the people.

Exception is further taken, that the general *Confeſſion* before the Communion, is permitted to be pronounced by the *people*. 'This (ſay the Brethren) gives li-'berty to *Lay* or private men to officiate, at leaſt in 'part, as to this Confeſſion, which is a branch of the 'Office peculiar to the Miniſter. Sometimes the exception is, that the Church or Biſhops tyrannize over the people, deprive them of all priviledge Eccleſiaſtical. Now 'tis a quarrel that it yields ſo much unto them. Firſt, I might remember them, that ſome of the Antients in certain caſes yielded more. As do alſo thoſe of the *Lutheran* Confeſſion. *Etſi laicus aliquis pereunti dederit (Baptiſm.) neceſſitate compulſus; quod quum ipſe acciperet, dandum eſſe addidicit, neſcio an pie quiſquam dixerit eſſe repetendum. Nulla enim cogente neceſſitate ſi fiat, alieni muneris uſurpatio eſt, &c. i. e.* 'Although 'a *Lay-man*, if he adminiſter Baptiſm, and it be not a 'caſe of neceſſity, he uſurps another mans office. *Si autem neceſſitas urgeat, aut nullum aut veniale delictum eſt.* The ſame is the ſentence of St. *Jerom*, as alſo of the *School*, and of the *Canon-Law*. And of the *Lutherans* alſo. But the Church of *England* for the abuſes of that practiſe,

Anſw. 1. *Aug. contr. Parmen. l.* 2. *c.* 13.

Hieron. adv. Luciferian. Lumbard. lib. 4. *diſt.* 6. *A. diſt.* 5. *C. Baptizari. Chemnit. Exam. part.* 2. *de Abſolutione.*

ctiſe, hath removed it. Secondly, the unlawfulneſs of adminiſtrations in the Church ariſeth hence, if any *man take this honour unto himſelf*, and be not *called* of God by the hand of his Church. But as the *habitual* power is fixed on ſuch perſons, ſo may a temporary and tranſient one, on any other by the authority of the Church. But thirdly, *Eccleſiaſtical* power conſiſts eſpecially in diſpenſing and giving forth the things of God unto the people, *viz.* The *Word*, Sacraments and Adminiſtration of the Keys in binding and looſing, in Excommunicating and Abſolving. *Prayer* is a more general and common act, communicable alſo unto others. Fourthly, This particular hath a ſpecial conſideration. Inaſmuch as it is a more immediate act of the *Congregation*, the people, is therefore not unproper to be pronounced by one of them, eſpecially being allowed by the Church thereunto, as is *Abſolution* the proper act of the *Miniſter*, which following immediately upon the former, ſeems to point at the peoples Confeſſion before. But this the Church hath left Arbitrary. Laſtly, It is not in uſe, and therefore needed no ſuch animoſity and oppoſition.

2.

3. Eccleſiaſtical power.

4.

5.

The fourth Exception. 'That the ſame Collect ſhould 'be ſaid on certain Feſtivals, ſeven daies after, with the Word, *as on this day*. As if, as they *jeered* above, the Miniſter might not change *Queen* for *King*.

The fourth Except.

The fifth Exception is againſt the laſt Rubrick after the Communion; which ſaith, 'That every Pariſhioner 'ſhall communicate at the leaſt three times in the year, 'of which *Eaſter* to be one, and ſhall alſo receive the 'Sacraments and other Rites, &c. Thus *they recite* the Rubrick; And having made it for their turn, they diſcharge three *bruta fulmina* againſt it.

The fifth Exception. Rites and Sacram.

First, 'That it is contradictory to the Exhortation be- 'fore the Communion, who doth bid *all* preſent in the 'name of God to come, &c. Then the former ſeems to diſpence with Gods own invitation.

1.

Next, 'That *Eaſter* ſhould be one; a reaſon is de- 'manded; ſeeing every Lords day is celebrated upon 'the

2.

'the ſame account that *Eaſter* is, *viz.* the memory of 'the Reſurrection of our Lord.

3. Laſtly, 'It is *non-ſenſe* or *worſe* (ſay theſe ſenſible men) 'to require that the people ſhould receive the Sacram. 'and other Rites thrice a year, as implying the *Popiſh* 'Sacraments, or elſe *Superſtitious* ceremonies, *Antique* *Anſw.* 1. 'Croſſings, &c. When the Lord did *three times* enjoyn his Antient people to appear before him *three times* in Deut. 16. 16. the year, whereof *Eaſter* was one; yet he did not for- Exod. 23. 14. and 34. 24. with Levit. 23. 38. bid their *free-will-offerings*: much leſs do they that make this *trine-appearance* with an *ad minimum*, and at leaſt. More they deſire and exhort unto, leſs they will not permit. They diſpence not with *Gods* own invitation (who hath ſet no preciſe time) do exhort the people often in his name, and bind them to ſome frequency, if exhortation will not ſerve.

1 Cor. 1. *Anſw.* 2. Gal. 4. explain'd. Next, They that were not ſent to *baptize*, but had work of more neceſſity and haſte, their ſilence muſt not be conſtrued to a Prohibition. And when they do reprove thoſe that *obſerved times*, and *days*, and *moneths*, and *years*; As part of *Moſes* Law obligatory to Chriſtians, and upon ſome *opinion of righteouſneſs* thereby, in derogation to the All-ſufficiency of Chriſts righteouſneſs, they do no more thereby forbid the obſervation of times, as *invitements* and *advantages* unto *piety*; then 'when they exhort to be rich in good works, and lay up 'for our ſelves a good foundation, that we may lay hold 'on eternal life; do therefore forbid us to believe that 'a man is juſtified by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and that 'we are juſtified freely by his grace through the redem- 'ption that is in Jeſus Chriſt; but for *eternal life* it is the 'gift of God. When our Saviour forbad to call any 'man father upon earth; he meant not to confute the Law, nor his own reproof of the *Phariſees*; who made all things, whereby they might gain, to be *Corban*; and ſo ſuffered not a man to help his father or his mother; from κατὰ τ unto καθόλε, is but a *freſh mans* conſequence.

Gal. 2. chap. 3. chap. 5. 6. 1 Tim. 6. Rom. 3. Rom. 6. *ult.* 3. Matth. 15. 4.

To

To conclude; 'That becauſe our Saviour in one ſenſe, 'forbad to ſwear at all, (upon *viz.* the *Phariſees* expo- 'ſition and diſpenſation) and that whatſoever was more 'proceeded of evil; he, ever meant to condemn himſelf, when he added *Amen, Amen*; (which is *literally* more) or the *Saints* or *Angels* (both which we find to have taken deep oaths upon great occaſions) is a *Quakers* Logick. Again, Such is the frailty of our memories, that without ſome *ſtanding* memorials, we ſhould not ſeriouſly mind the things that do belong unto our peace. And ſuch is the hardneſs of our hearts, that unleſs theſe times be *ſolemn*, and therefore can be but ſeldome (for *familiaritas parit contemptum*) we ſhould have little impreſſion of them. Hence ever ſince we read of any *inſtituted Church*, we find they had their *ſtata tempora*, not only hebdomadary, but yearly alſo. Yea, *nature* did thus much dictate unto the *Heathen*, that beſides thoſe days of the week, wherein they did ſome ſpecial worſhip unto their Idols, (the footſteps whereof remain ſtill in the appellations of them) yet they had alſo their *Annua ſolennia*, yea, and *Olympiads* alſo, more rare and ſolemner. Now it is not unknown, I ſuppoſe unto the Brethren, that *why Eaſter to be one*; ſeeing every Lords day is in memory of the *Reſurrection*? It is a queſtion that ſhould have been put firſt to our *Fathers*, yea, our *Univerſal Mother*, who were more concerned to anſwer; for they have told us: *Illa autem quæ non ſcripta, ſed tradita cuſtodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe obſervantur, datur intelligi; vel ab ipſis* Apoſtolis, *vel plenariis conciliis (quorum eſt in eccleſia ſaluberrima authoritas;) commendata atque ſtatuta retineri; ſicuti quòd domini* Paſſio, *&* Reſurrectio, *&* Aſcenſio *in Cœlum, &* Adventus *de cœlo Sp. Sancti, anniverſaria ſolennitate celebrantur.* 'That thoſe things which are not written, '(in the Scriptures) but kept by tradition, and which are 'obſerved throughout all Churches; we are thereby gi- 'ven to underſtand, that they were inſtituted and com- 'mended unto us, either by the *Apoſtles* themſelves, or 'by

Matth. 5. interpreted.

2 Cor. 1. 21. Revel. 10, 6.

4.

The uſe of ſolemn Feſtivals

Aug. ep. 118. *ad Januar. c.* 1.

The antiquity of the four ſolemn Feaſtivals.

'by ſome *General Councils* (who have a Soveraign *Au-*
'*thority* in the Church) as the yearly celebration of the
Paſſion, and the *Reſurrection*, and the *Aſcenſion* of our
Lord, and the coming down of the *H. Ghoſt*. Thus
that *Father*, of whom (as was noted above out of *Cal-*
vin) we muſt learn, if we would know the certainty of
the judgment of *Antiquity*, and of our *Mother* the Pri-
mitive Church.

Chap. 1. *Aug. ib. cap. 7.* And particularly for *Eaſter*: The ſame Author gives us to underſtand; *Nonnullos probabilis quædam ratio de-*
lectavit, ut uno certo die per annum, quo ipſam cœnam
Dominus dedit, tanquam ad inſigniorem commemoratio-
nem poſt cibos offerri & accipi liceat corpus & ſanguis do-
mini. 'That ſome are of opinion, that the body and
'blood of our Lord ſhould be offered (namely, by the
'Miniſter to the people) and received upon one certain
'day in the year, namely that, whereon he himſelf re-
'ceived it; which they do on a very probable ground,
'*viz.* that the commemoration might be the more ſo-
'lemn. Which ground, holds with us in celebrating the
Communion both upon the day that Chriſt himſelf did,
as alſo upon that whereon we commemorate that action
of his, whereby he applyed the efficacy of all his ſuffe-
Eaſter day. rings, his *Reſurrection*; 'for he was delivered for our
'ſins, and was *raiſed* again for our juſtification. We
Hom. 4. ult. do it therefore upon theſe daies ſpecially, as well as on
others, more ordinarily, *viz. That the commemoration*
might be the more ſolemn. But they aim at the root
whileſt they ſtrike at one of the branches, and are offen-
ded at the *genus* Feſtival times; beſides the Sabbath,
as well as at *Eaſter* ſpecially. Of which, to that of the
Antient Church related by S. *Auſtin*, I ſhall only add
that; 'They are the ſplendour and outward dignity of
R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 72. in fine. 'our Religion; forcible witneſſes of antient truth; pro-
'vocations to the exerciſes of all piety; ſhadows of our
'endleſs felicity in Heaven; on Earth everlaſting Re-
'cords and Memorials. Wherein they which cannot be
'drawn to hearken to that we teach, may only by look-
'ing

'ing upon what we do, in a manner read whatſoever we 'believe.

The laſt thing they object againſt this Rubrick, is a meer *calumny*, and yet they raiſe a great *tragedy* upon it. The Rubrick will apologize for it ſelf, if you give it leave to ſpeak out; for the Brethren ſtopt its mouth with the padlock of, *&c.* before it had done, becauſe they would confute what it never meant to ſay, its words at length are. *And ſhall receive the Sacraments and other rites according to the order of this Book appointed*; injoyning thereby, *none other* either *Sacraments* or *rites*; but that they that are, ſhould be received according to the order of this Book, and as they are appointed to be adminiſtred therein, and *none other, or otherwiſe*, as alſo the words of the Act for uniformity of Common-prayer runs.

The Br. iniquity in citing of the Rubricks.

Sacraments and Rites.

The ſixth Exception is againſt the laſt Rubrick before the Catechiſm, in order to Confirmation, which is; 'That no man ſhall think that any detriment ſhall come 'to children by deferring of their Confirmation; he ſhall 'know for truth, that it is certain by Gods Word, that 'children being baptized, have all things neceſſary for 'their ſalvation, and be undoubtedly ſaved. The Objection is; that after Baptiſme, they may commit many ſins before they come to be confirmed, (which requires ſome growth in underſtanding) whereof they cannot be pardoned without true repentance, notwithſtanding their being baptized, &c. As the fumes of *choler* from the *ſtomach* aſcending into the head do ſometimes make dim the *eyes*, and as the God of this world, ſometimes by *covetouſneſs*, ſometimes by *ambition*, ſometimes by *envy*, and ſometimes by other things darkens the mind: So it ſeems to fare with theſe Brethr. whoſe eyes *charity* and *duty* would have enlightened to have ſeen, that this Rubrick went upon no ſuch ſuppoſition, that the children ſhould come to years before they were confirmed, or elſe they could not anſwer the Catechiſme; but upon this; that whereas under *Popery* (ſoon after which this

Except. 6.

Anſw.

Luk. 16. 14. Joh. 12. Matth. 27.

Book was compiled in part, and imposed) *Confirmation* was accounted a *Sacrament*, namely, one of the *seven*, the being deprived whereof was counted a damning thing; and therefore in case of extremity, was no less in their opinion necessary then Bapt. to which end, they did oftentimes confirm children in their *infancy*; this practice being by the Church removed, it was held necessary to remove the *doctrine* whereupon it was built, *viz.* the *necessity of confirmation* unto *salvation*. But this doth no more fix salvation upon the children that sin after Bapt. being come to years, if they repent not: then the Apostle doth fix it upon men who
1 Pet.3.21. have received that ordinance, when he saith, 'that Ba-'ptisme doth now save us. Doth this assure all men baptized, of salvation, if they commit sin afterward without repentance? No more doth the other. But
Prov.6.13. because the Brethren do seem to teach with their finger, (as the wise man saith some do) as if their fingers itched at that part of the Rubrick, 'that children baptized, 'have all things necessary to salvation, and are undoub-'tedly saved: And ask the question, *where that word* is that saith so, which may indeed have reference unto the former clause, or to this either; I shall endeavour to shew them where.

*In a Treatise Intituled, The *Pastor* and the *Clerk*.

First, (not to dispute the point here at large, * which I have done elsewhere) I take it for granted, that Bapt. is *the seal* of the Covenant of Grace, by its succession unto, and proportion with *Circumcision*, which was so, and by the effects of both; all which the Scriptures cited in the Margin will evince.

1. Col.2. Rom.4.11,12 Act.2.38. Col.2.11.

Secondly, That *all* believers being the children of *Abraham* (unto whom the promise whilest in uncircumcision was made, *viz.* that God would be a Father unto him, and his seed after him unto all Generations) do inherit the promise of the Covenant of Grace, as fully as he did, that is, for themselves and their posterity in the faith.

2. Gal.3.7, 17.8 Genes. 17.7.

Thirdly, That the profession (outward) of the *Faith*

3.8.

and

and *Bapt.* conſtituteth a man in the *eſſe* and ſtate of a *Believer*. As it did *Simon*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, till their hypocriſie being diſcovered, they were cut off from the Church.

Fourthly, That a child born in the boſome of the Ch. and under the profeſſion of the Goſpel, although the *immediate* parents ſhould be either very *wicked* or *excommunicate*, is yet the child of the *Church*, and capable of Baptiſme, upon orderly care for its due education in the faith. 4.

Ubicunque non prorſus intercidit, vel extincta fuit Chriſtianiſmi profeſſio, fraudantur jure ſuo infantes, ſi à communi ſymbolo arcentur. Calv. Epiſt. Noxio, Novemb. 1559.

Fifthly, That the children are as capable Subjects of the reception of the Covenant of Grace, (which is free) and of the H. Ghoſt, and the *ſeed* of *Grace*; as they are of the ſeed of *reaſon*, which all men grant they have, as appears in thoſe infants that were ſanctified in the womb. And by thoſe words of our Saviour, where he affirmeth, 'that even of thoſe (for he took them up in 'his arms, put his hands upon them and bleſſed them) Matth. 18. 'doth the Kingdome of God conſiſt. Now to theſe touching the *Subject*, Add but thoſe touching the *efficacy* of *Baptiſm*; and according to my *Logick*, the concluſion of the Church of *England* is moſt conſequent; for *Baptiſme* doth ſave us. 'If we be not born of water 1 Pet. 3. 21. 'and of the H. Ghoſt, we cannot enter into the King- 'dome of God. In the expoſition of which teſtimony, current of Scriptures ſpeaking of the efficacy of *Bapt.* withholds my aſſent from the expoſition of *Calv.* 'Be Act. 2. 38. 'baptized, ſaith *Peter*, for the *remiſſion* of ſins. We are Rom. 6. 3. 'baptized into his death, and by it put on Chriſt, and Gal. 3. 'ſo are all baptized into one ſpirit. And, ariſe ſaith *A-* 1 Cor. 12. *'nanias* to *Paul*, and be baptized, and waſh away thy 'ſins. Now ſurely he, who makes his Kingdome to *conſiſt* * *much of theſe* kind of Citizens; and that declared ſo much of his good will unto them, having made 5. 2.

* *Quum longè plures in pueritiâ ætate hinc rapiantur, ——ſignificare juxta hîc dominum voluiſſe credo, nullam omnio hominum ætatem regno cœlorum plures cives dare.* Bucer in Matth. 19. 13.

them capable of that ordinance that furniſheth thoſe that receive it, (and put no *obſtacle* themſelves to the force of it) with all things neceſſary to ſalvation; what fault in the *Churches* argument? *viz.* This *Baptiſme* affordeth all things neceſſary to ſalvation; but children are baptized, and that of right; they are therefore, if ſo dying, undoubtedly ſaved.

Except. 7. Married to receive the Sacrament.

The ſeventh Exception is againſt that Rubrick after matrimony, which ſaith, that *the married perſons muſt receive the Communion*; the Brethren aſk, what neceſſity? A queſtion ſomewhat too looſe, for thoſe who pretend to ſo much piety. Why? for ſeveral reaſons, it were enough, were it but for this: *Cùm alioquin & ipſum conjugium per ſe purum ſit ac honeſtum, tamen ipſius* uſus vix, *aut* ne vix *quidem careat aliquâ* ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, *ſed quæ velo matrimonii obtegatur.* 'Becauſe, that though marri-'age of it ſelf be pure and holy, yet the uſe of it can 'hardly, if poſſible, be without ſome irregularity, yet 'ſuch, as by the ordinance of Matrimony is *vailed over* 'and *covered.* And therefore at the firſt, when there is moſt danger, the ſtronger obligations from the moſt ſolemn and ſacred ordinances, have a neceſſary uſe. Next, ſcurrilouſly they enquire, if they do not receive, who ſhall be puniſhed, &c. When the Lord appointed that the children of *Iſrael* muſt dwell in Tents once a year, in remembrance of their dwelling in the wilderneſs; yet 'tis ſaid in *Nehemiah*, that they had not done it *ſo* till then, from the time they came out of *Ægypt.* Muſt we quarrel now with Gods own Law, becauſe if the people would not do it, it did not deſign who ſhould be puniſhed? Some puniſhments are appointed the Magiſtrate; but withal there are ſome left to our own *conſciences*, and to Gods *ſecret Judgment.* It is much (upon this account) that the *Rubrick* after the Catechiſme ſcaped the Br. laſh, which ſaith, that all *parents* and *maſters ſhall* cauſe their children and ſervants to come to catechizing; which is as much obſerved as the other. They may ask here alſo, who ſhall puniſh them? Even he who

Bez. in 1 Cor. 7.6.

Levit. 23.34.

Nehem. 8.17.

who will take account of every *idle word* and queſtion. Matth. 12. 36.
'Where they ſay, they are not bound to receive above
'thrice in the year, and therefore not at *marriage*; So Prov. 26. 5.
puerile a vanity, calls for the like anſwer. Have they never learned that beſides *Propria quæ maribus*, there is alſo, *Quæ genus aut flexum variant?*

The eighth and laſt Rubrick they except againſt, is, The eighth Except. Rubrick after the Commun. of the ſick.
That after the *Communion of the ſick*, where it is ſaid, that
'in the *plague* or other infectious diſeaſes, when compa-
'ny cannot be had, upon ſpecial requeſt of the ſick, the
'Miniſter may *alonely* communicate with him. Where
firſt, their *ſuppoſition* is, that the Miniſter is *bound* to vi-
ſit every ſick perſon of the plague, and to give him the
Communion if he deſire it. Upon this they build a three-
fold battery of unchriſtianity, of oppoſition to the other
Rubricks touching the Communion, and particularly
that of the ſick. Laſtly, of inhumanity. But Caſtles
in the air have no foundation. The Rubrick doth not
ſay, as before, he *ſhall*, or *muſt*, but he *may*, it thereby
being left to his own conſcience and diſcretion. Their
footing therefore fails them; but if it were good, not Matth. 25.
againſt Chriſtianity therefore; 'For *I was ſick*, (he ex-
'cepteth no diſeaſe) and ye came unto me, what, only
the people capable of this reward and bleſſing, not any
Miniſter? Then was *Calvine* weak, who would have
gone to thoſe viſited of the plague, if the Senate (who *Beza in Vit. Calv. ad Ann.* 1542.
were concerned more waies then one, in his life)
would have ſuffered him. Yea, and the Senate too who
thought, that for theſe viſited of the plague there, *Paſtoris conſtantis ac ſeduli opera requireretur*; 'that the labour
'of a *grave* and *diligent* Miniſter was very requiſite; and
accordingly *Sebaſt. Caſtellio*, though choſen by lot, refuſing, *Blanchetus* another Miniſter took it upon him. And
how elſe ſhall we fulfill that Engagement, *viz.* 'that we 1 Joh. 3 16.
'ought to lay down our *lives* for the brethren. Nei-
ther Secondly, Is it true, which they ſay, that the very Private Communion.
nature of the Sacrament requires a publick adminiſtrati-
on. The *practice* of it indeed ſo far as is recorded, we

Miniſter viſiting the ſick of the plague.
Anſw.
2.
Anſw. 1.

find

urgy in the
Q. of the
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28.

or. 10, 16.

find to be with company; but the *nature* of it is another thing: 'that being an outward and visible *sign*, ordained 'by Christ himself, as a *means* whereby we may apply 'the body and blood of Christ, and a *pledge* to assure us 'thereof. Or it is not onely a sign of the *love, that Christians ought to have among themselves* (which is represented by the company and number) *one to another: but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christs death; insomuch as to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ: and likewise the Cup of blessing, is a partaking of the blood of Christ.* This being so, it is not of the *nature* and essence of the Sacrament, nor *necessarily* required to the comfort and benefit of receiving thereof, that it be *publickly*, no nor with *company* celebrated.

2. Secondly, Their *proof* is as as weak taken from those Rubricks, that speak of the Communion when company may be had; or of comforting the sick, if by any *just impediment* the sick be deprived of the Communion. The lack of company is mention'd, as one; which yet is no *contradiction*, although it be allowed that the Minister alonely may receive with him. For this may well refer to the sick man's *family*; for 'tis said, 'When 'none of the *parish or neighbours* can be gotten; but is supposed those of his own house may; and if that cannot be, it may be an impediment to the administration of the Communion. Unless it be, as the Rubrick saith, *upon special request of the diseased*, and that the consolation appointed for him, in case the former impediments do hinder the convenient administration, do not satisfie his conscience, but that still he be importunate for it, in *such case* he *may*, &c. where they put in, 'That un- ft. 'less he truly repent of his sins, and stedfastly believe 'in Christ, &c. which the Exhortation is to put him in 'mind of, what good will he get by receiving the Sa- *Answ.* 'crament? This savours of *Familialism*, as if in case he do these, there were no need of the Sacrament. Thirdly, 3.

it

it is no whit contrary unto *humanity*, as they affirm, but the quite contrary. 'But muſt a Miniſter, who hath 'charge of many ſouls, venture, adventure his health 'and life to gratifie an infectious perſon, in that which 'is not neceſſary to his ſalvation? ſay the Brethren. It hath been ſhewn above, that it is not a *muſt*, but a *may*. Again, he *muſt*, if called by *God*, through the voice of his *Church*, the *ſick* perſon and his own *conſcience*. In caſe theſe concur, as it may fall out; or elſe he cannot be Chriſts Diſciple, much leſs a Miniſter of his, as we ſaw above. The charge of the ſouls belong more to the *Church*, and to *God Almighty* to take care of, than to any particular *Miniſter*. 'What is that to thee, follow 'thou him. Fourthly, our Lord himſelf hath intimated unto us, 'that in ſome caſes the Paſtor muſt leave ninety 'and nine ſheep to help one that is loſt. To that they ſay, that it is no way of neceſſity to the ſick mans ſalvation, 'tis unadviſedly ſpoken. For what if he may be ſaved without it; yet if not with that neceſſary comfort that is requiſite to the grapling with the *King of fears*, it were both *unchriſtianity* peradventure and *inhumanity* to deny it him, as the caſe may ſtand.

pag. 26. 1. 2. 3. Joh. 21. 4. Luk. 15. *Object.* *Anſw.*

But ſecondly, ſuch may be the ſick mans *temptations*, and ſo great his *weakneſs*, that for want of this *ſpecial* ſupport his *faith* may fail him, and ſo he may fail of ſalvation. Or howſoever, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 'Deſtroy not him with thy meat for whom Chriſt dyed. So, deſtroy not him for want of thy meat for whom Chriſt dyed. For whatſoever God may do with him, yet his *blood*, as the point may be, perhaps will God require at ſuch a hand. 'A peart Miniſter asked me (ſaith 'King *James*) if I thought Baptiſm ſo neceſſary, that if 'it were omitted, the child would be damned? I anſwered him no; but if you, being called to baptize the 'child, though privately, ſhould refuſe to come, I 'think you ſhall be damned. I conclude this anſwer with the cenſure of *Bucer*, touching the *Communion of the ſick*, and injunctions about it: *Quæ hîc præcipiuntur, ſunt*,

2. 3. 1 Cor. 8. Conf. Hamp. Court, p. 17. *Buc. Script. Angl. Cenſur. Liturg. cap. 22.*

ſunt Divinis ſcripturis ſatis conſentanea, communionem enim ſumere domini, & de menſâ ejus, ad conſolandum perturbatas conſcientias non parum valet, ſi ea ut dominus inſtituit ſumatur. 'Thoſe things (ſaith he) which are 'here commanded (touching the Communion of the 'ſick) are ſufficiently agreeing with the Scriptures. For 'to receive the Lords Communion, and from his Ta'ble, doth not a little avail for the *comforting afflicted* '*conſciences*, if it be taken as the Lord hath com'manded.

SECT. III.

Of the body of the Common-prayer-book.

3. Except. againſt the body of the *Liturgy*.

3. COme we now to their Exceptions againſt the body of the Liturgy it ſelf, and the matter of it. Where, like men that are rolling down a hill, the more their *brains* as well as their *body* run round; ſo fares it here with the Brethren, who did rail before, but now they *rave*, and are without bounds immodeſt. So true is that, *Eum qui ſemel verecundiæ fines tranſiit, oportet graviter impudentem eſſe.* 'He that hath once ſet him'ſelf bevond bluſhing, it concerns him afterward to 'take a brow of braſs. And that of the Apoſtle, 'Evil 'men and ſeducers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving, 'and being deceived. But to come to the matter. Firſt, they do ominouſly, *ad limen offendere*, ſtumble at the *threſhold*; and fall too, but 'tis fouly, upon the firſt ſentence of the Book, *viz.* '*At what time ſoever a ſinner* '*doth repent him of his ſin from the bottom of his heart, I* '*will put all his wickedneſs out of my remembrance*, ſaith '*the Lord.* Againſt which they object, firſt, for the *name*, that it is called a ſentence of Scripture. 2. The *matter*, that it is contrary to Scripture. 3. The *effect*, that it implies a man may repent when he liſt; this occaſions delay of repentance, which carries many to *Hell*.

2 Tim. 3.

Ezek. 18. *Except.* 1. At what time ſoever a ſinner repenteth, &c.

Firſt,

First, to shake off these *flies* that would *blow* this holy Sacrifice. And then to vindicate the Religious Compilers of the Liturgy. To the first. And first for the naming it a *sentence* of Scripture, when if it were true, say they, it is but a *sense* of Scripture (which yet is more then they grant.) St. *Jerom* would long since have told them; *Nec putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse Evangelium, sed in sensu, non in superficie sed in medullâ, non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis.* 'Neither let us 'think (saith he) that the Gospel consists in *words*, but in 'the *sense*; not in the *bone*, but in the *marrow*; not in the 'leaves of syllables, but in the *root* of its reason. For 'otherwise, saith he in the same place, the devil some-'time quoted Scripture. And before him *Athanasius*, in the defence of the Council of *Nice*. It being objected against the Council, that it had used terms (as consubstantial and the like) not found in Scripture, he answers: Γινωσκέτω δὲ ἡμῶν εἴ τις ἐστὶ φιλομαθὴς, ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς εἰσιν αἱ λέξεις, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἴρηται, πρόκειται, τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν διάνοιαν ἔχουσι καὶ ταύτην ἐκφωνούμεναι σημαίνουσι τοῖς ὠσὶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν τὴν ἀκολουθὸν ὁλόκληρον——— ἐκείνης δὲ κατακούειν τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους. 'Let every one (saith he) that is willing to learn, 'know, that although the very *words* be not in the Scrip-'tures, yet have they the *mind* of the Scripture, and do 'found the same thing in the ears of those who have their 'senses open unto godliness——— And that they are 'ignorant men that think otherwise. If therefore it be the *sense* of Scripture, it may not be unfitly called a *sentence* of Scripture. Neither is it any injury (as the Brethren cavil) to say, that the *Apostles* did the like in quoting the old Testament: for what think they of this? 'For thus it is written by the Prophet; And thou *Beth-'lehem* in the land of *Judah* art not the least among the 'Princes of *Judah*, &c. Whereas it is in the Prophet in words different, yea, quite contrary. First, Different, *viz.* 'And thou *Bethlehem Ephrata*. Next, contrary; 'Though thou be little among the thousands of *Judah*;

1.

Hieron. in epist. ad Gal. c. 1. notum vob. facio.

Scripture is sense, not syllables.

Matth. 4.

Athanas. de Nicen. concil. narrat. sive Quòd illa idoneis sit nsa verbis. Tom. 1. Tract. 15.

2.

pag. 27.

Matth. 2. 5, 6.

Sense of Scripture, sentence of Scripture.

Mic. 5. 2.

VVherein they followed the *Greek*, which saith, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλίασιν Ἰούδα; they mistaking להיות, *ad existendum*, for לא היות, *ad non existendum. Per contractionem.*

'(yet) out of thee, &c. And there is added the word [*For*] which is not in the *Hebrew*. So that there is *detraction*, *contrariety*, and a material *addition*, which cannot be shewn in the sentence impugned. And what think they of another soon after?

Matth. 4. 10. 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely 'shalt thou serve. And our Saviour saith, *It is written.*

Deut. 6. 13. and 10. 20. Now in the place cited it is in the first: 'Thou shalt 'fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt 'swear by his Name. And in the second. 'Thou 'shalt fear the Lord thy God, him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his Name. Difference enough you see. Is this a belying of the Scripture too? And what think they of another? 'Then was

Matth. 27. 9. 'fulfilled that which was spoken by the Prophet *Jeremy*, 'saying: And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the 'price of him that was valued, whom they of the children 'of *Israel* did value, and gave them for the potters field, 'as the Lord commanded me. Whereas both it is in the

Zach. 11. 12, 13. Prophet *Zachary* (not in *Jerem.*) and also runs thus: 'And 'I said unto them, If you think good, give me my price: 'and if not, forbear: so they weighed for my price thirty 'pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it 'unto the Potter: A goodly price that I was prized at 'of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and 'cast them to the Potter, in the House of the Lord. Here is δὶς διὰ πασῶν, variety of difference, and yet I hope the Brethren will not deny, but that the Evangelist *Matthew* did set down *a sentence* of Scripture. To shake hands and part. What think they of that of the Apostle?

Rom. 14. 11. '*It is written*, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall 'bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.

Isa. 45. 23. Yet in the Prophet where it is written, it is thus: 'I have 'sworn by my self, the word is gone out of my mouth 'in righteousnese, and shall not return, that unto me 'every knee shall bow, every tongue shall *swear*.

Which

Which difference is ſuch, that the *Quakers obſerve it as a ground of *not-ſwearing*; becauſe what the Prophet ſaid of *ſwearing*, the Apoſtle turns *confeſſing*. A ſentence then of Scripture it may be, which is not the very words; as the the title of thoſe ſentences is, not theſe *words*, but *ſentences*. * In a conference with my ſelf.

To the ſecond, that this ſentence as ſet down in the Common-prayer-book, is contrary to the place whence it is quoted, and to other Scripture. The place quoted in the Service formerly, is onely *Ezek.* 18. not naming any verſe; in the later Editions, the 21 and 22 verſes are figured; but there is ground alſo for the ſentence, in the *general context* of that Chapter, and particularly beſides the former, in *verſ.* 28, 30, 31, 32. Now let us ſee whether there be any difference in ſenſe, much leſs any contrariety. The Prayer-book ſaith: At 'what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent him of his ſin 'from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wicked-'neſs out of my remembrance, ſaith the Lord. In the Prophet, verſe 21, 22. thus: 'But if the wicked will 'turn from all his ſins that he hath committed, 'and keep all my ſtatutes, and do that which is law-'ful and right; he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not dye. 'All his tranſgreſſions that he hath committed, they ſhall 'not be mentioned unto him: in his righteouſneſs 'that he hath done he ſhall live. And verſe 30. 'Repent, and turn your ſelves from your tranſgreſſi-'ons——— And *verſ.* 31. 'Make you a new heart 'and a new ſpirit. And then for the *whenſoever*, though implyed unavoidably in the former ſentences; yet 'tis more than *in terminis*. *Jer.* 18. 7. (for even the Apoſtles cited Scriptures ſo, as that they compacted ſeveral into one) 'At what *inſtant* I ſpeak 'concerning a Nation and concerning a Kingdom, to 'pluck up, and to pull down and to deſtroy it; if that 'Nation againſt whom I have pronounced turn from 'their evill, I will repent of the evill that I thought 'to *Except.* 2. *Anſw.* Ezek. 18. 30, 31. Jer. 18. 7, 8.

'to do unto them. Now compare. *At what time*, ſaith the Common-prayer-book; in the Prophet *Ezekiel* it is, *If he will turn, indefinitely*, excluding no time, which is equivalent unto *whenſoever*. And, 'At *what inſtant*, ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*, that is more. *Repent him of his ſins*, ſaith the Common-prayer-Book; *turn from all his ſins that he hath committed*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, *verſ.* 28. and, *repent and turn your ſelves from your tranſgreſſions*, *verſ.* 30. *From the bottom of his heart*, ſaith the Prayer-book. *From all his ſins*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, *verſ.* 21. and, *from all his tranſgreſſions*, *verſ.* 30. which ſurely is the ſame with, *from the bottom of his heart*; which yet is more clearly implyed, *verſ.* 31. *Make you a new heart, and a new ſpirit*; that 'is, Repent you from your heart and ſpirit; as before he had exhorted to repentance. *I will put all his wickedneſs out of my remembrance*, ſaith the Common-prayer-book. *All his tranſgreſſions that he hath committed, they ſhall not be mentioned unto him*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, *verſ.* 22. Now I ſhall leave it to every man that hath but two eyes, *Reaſon* and *Conſcience*, to judge, whether the Common-prayer-book hath a *title* in ſenſe more than the Prophet. 'Yea, but 'it is *diſſonant* from another: To *day* if ye will hear 'his voice. And, Exhort one another daily while it is 'called *to day*. Therefore we muſt not defer repen- 'tance; but, *At what time ſoever*, encourages men ſo 'to do. As if both theſe ſentences were not in the Old Teſtament as well as in the New, and in both Teſtaments by the ſame Spirit. 'Tis evident by manifold places of Scripture, that there is *ever* found place for *true repentance*, without limiting of any time. Why are they not offended with our Saviour, for ſpeaking of ſome that ſhould be received at the *eleventh* hour? And with the Evangeliſt *Luke*, for recording the repentance and acceptation of the *Thief* upon the *Croſs*? And with the *Prophet*, or the *Lord*

pag. 26. Hebr. 4. 7. chap. 3. 12.

Object.

Anſw.

To day if ye will hear.

Matth. 20.

Luk. 23.

Lord rather in the Prophet, for calling to her to *return* that was grown *old*, not in ordinary ſins, but in *Adulteries* and *Idolatry*; namely, with a purpoſe of pardon if ſhe would even then repent. And, 'a broken and contrite heart, O Lord, ſaith *David*, 'thou wilt not deſpiſe; and his repentance was *late*, for his ſin was toward the *end of his life*, as *Peter Martyr* obſerves. One of the *Martyrs* hearing a *Erier* inveighing againſt the ſins of the people in this manner: 'O thou that haſt ſpent thy youth and 'ſtrength in the ſervice of the *devil*, doſt thou think 'that God will now accept thee, when thou canſt 'ſin no longer? or to that effect, ſaid: That had 'ſuch doctrine been preached to him, it would 'have caſt him into deſpair when time was. Is there any diſſonancy in haſtening men unto repentance, and warning of them, that they outſtand not the day of grace; and yet in the encouraging of them when they do repent?

Ezek. 23.

Pet. Mart. in 2 Sam. 11. 2.

To the third and laſt Exception, that this ſentence, *At what time ſoever*, implies, 'as if he 'could repent when he liſt; and this occaſions de-'lay, which carries many to *Hell*. But by what Logick doth it follow, that if men are told, that that if they truly repent, the Lord will forgive them; *Ergo*, They may repent when they liſt. The inference is fully as good from Gods exhorting unto repentance, and is urged thence by ſome; becauſe we are exhorted to repent; therefore repentance is in the power of our own free will. So, whenſoever you repent from the bottom of the heart, &c. Therefore you may when you will. So that as the Brethren fell in with *Novatus* in the former, by ſeeming to deny forgiveneſs, whenſoever a man repents from the bottom of his heart; ſo in the latter with *Pelagius*, in concluding, from a ſuppoſition if we do, that therefore we may do it. Though indeed, he went rather upon the command than

Except. 3. Repent when we liſt, &c. 1.

Auſtin. Tom. 7. *part.* 2.

Object. *Anſw.* Rom. 2. *Artic. Relig.* 17.

than ſuppoſition. Secondly, where they ſay, it occaſions men to delay their repentance. Have they not read, 'That the goodneſs of God (and eſpecially that 'held out in the promiſe of forgiveneſs) does lead 'unto repentance. Is not deſpair of mercy truly 'concluded to be a moſt dangerous downfall, where-'by the devill doth thruſt men either into deſpera-'tion, or into wrethchleſneſs of moſt unclean liv-'ing, no leſſe perilous than deſperation. But God may in mercy let theſe Brethren one day feel in their own conſciences the pretious uſe of this ſentence, *What time ſoever, &c.* And indeed there is age enough in ſome of them before, and ſin enough, I fear, to make them need it. *Savanarola*, to be ſure, that learned and conſtant *Martyr*, having acknowledged in the perſon of *ſadneſs* and *deſpair*, objecting to him when he was very near his end: *Te ſcientiâ ſcripturarum ornavit, ſermonem prædicationis in ore tuo poſuit, & quaſi unum de magnis viris in medio populi te conſtituit.* 'That God had 'endued him with the knowledge of the *Scriptures*; 'and put the word of *preaching* alſo into his mouth, 'and made him as one of the great men of his time, '(as * he was indeed) yet was glad to make uſe of this 'ſentence, even in the words of the *Common-prayer*, (though not out of it) to refreſh his conſcience in the ſore conflict under the ſenſe of ſin, wherein he was. *Annon audiviſti Dominum dicentem, in quacunque die ingemuerit peccator, omnium iniquitatum ejus non recordabor amplius.* 'Haſt thou not heard the Lord ſay-'ing, In *what day ſoever* a ſinner repenteth, I will re-'member none of his ſins any more. But theſe perhaps are but the *prefaces*; may not ſo much *latent* evil be within, as that their *true* quarrel with this Scripture ſhould be the ſame that theirs was in the Goſpel, with the good-man of the houſe, for making thoſe that came in at the eleventh hour, and had wrought but *one*, equal to them that had undergone the burden and heat of the day. And take it ill that a poor ſinner, at the laſt repenting

In Pſal. 31. *In te Domine ſperavi.*

* *En Monachus ſolers rerum ſcrutator acutus, Martyrio ornatus, Savanarola pius. Chr. Pflug. ad Icon. Savanar. Ante compend. ſ. Philoſoph. excellentiſſ.*

Matth. 20.

repenting from the bottom of his heart, ſhould be, as the *Thief* crucified was, with Chriſt in Paradiſe, as well as they who conceive they have done God ſo ſo much good ſervice? This for the firſt *General*, the reply to the Brethren.

SECT. IV.

A Vindication of the compilers of the Liturgy.

A Word now of vindication of the Compilers of the Liturgy; and firſt in general, and it ſhall be in the words of *Bucer*, cenſuring the whole order of the Service till the Communion. *In deſcriptione communionis & quotidianarum precum, nihil video in libro eſſe deſcriptum, quod non ſit ex divinis literis deſumptum, ſi non* ad verbum, *ut Pſalmi & Lectiones, tamen ſenſu, ut ſunt collecta. Modus quoque harum lectionum ac precum, & tempora ſunt admodum congruenter & cum verbo Dei & obſervatione priſcarum Eccleſiarum conſtituta. Religione igitur ſumma retinenda erit, & vindicanda hæc ceremonia.* 'In the deſcription (ſaith he) of the 'Communion, (he meaneth here communion in prayer, 'for of the Lords Supper he ſpeaketh next) and in the 'deſcription of the daily prayers (in the Common-'prayer-book) I ſee *nothing* ſet down, but what is taken 'out of the holy Scriptures, if not *verbatim*, as the 'Pſalms and Leſſons, yet in ſenſe and meaning as are 'the Collects. And the *manner*, or *meaſure* and *order* 'of theſe Leſſons and Prayers, and the times are very 'convenient, and appointed according to the *Word of* 'God, and the practiſe of the moſt *antient Churches*. 'Therefore this Service is to be retained and *defended* in 'a moſt religious manner. How weak were *Bucers* eyes that could not ſee that *beam*, which our Brethren ſtumble upon at the very threſhold; nay, he could ſee *nothing* in *all that part* of the Service amiſs, even as it was.

Script. Angl. Cenſur. Liturg. cap. 1.

Note.

was *then*. But in particular touching this ſentence. The wiſdom and piety of the Compoſers did appear therein, foraſmuch as they prudently conſidered, that there is nothing more neceſſary than the publiſhing of the *Goſpel*, as being the *power of God to ſalvation*. And that this is nothing elſe, *but the offer of mercy to the penitent through faith in Jeſus Chriſt*. They conſidered, that there is nothing draws to repentance more effectually, than the *goodneſs* of God, and hope of *pardon*. Therefore being to propound the form of Confeſſion, and of Repentance; they propoſe this and other ſentences, to excite them thereunto. And becauſe they would have the people to retain in their minds theſe ſpecial places of Scripture for that purpoſe; and the words of *Ezekiel* being ſomewhat long, they contracted the ſubſtance of them into this ſentence.

The wiſdom of the Compoſers of the Liturgy.

Except. 2. No health in us.

The ſecond Exception (in the body of the Book) is againſt that clauſe in the general Confeſſion, *There is no health in us*. May we not reply, *There is no ſoundneſs in them*? Let the one help the other. A third is, 'the *TE DEUM* and *BENEDICITE*, 'which are ſaid to be *Apocryphals*, and *interrupt* the '*reading of the Scripture*. So do alſo the *Prayers* and '*Exhortations* in the Liturgy. If there muſt be no interruption of reading of the Scripture, it muſt be all reading, and no Liturgy. That *falſhood* that they would fix upon the Preface of the Book, which they ſay would bear us in hand, that it is provided againſt, that the continual reading of *Scripture* ſhall not be interrupted, lies in the falſeneſs of their *conception*; for the Preface takes the word *Scripture* in the ſenſe, that ſometimes the Fathers do in a *larger one*, namely, and as was in uſe in the time when the Liturgy was compiled, as comprehending thoſe antient Religious writings which, when properly diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that are *Canonical*, as they are by the *Articles*, (which are the *rule* to meaſure particular expreſſions by, that are found in the Offices of the Church) then when they are

Except. 3. *TE DEUM*. *Benedicite*. i. e. We praiſe thee, O God. All thy works praiſe thee. *Anſw.*

Scripture.

ſo

ſo diſtinguiſhed, they are called *Apocryphals*, but largely often Scripture, and holy Scripture. As *Auſtin* ſaith, the books of *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* are called *Solomons*, *de quadam ſimilitudine*, for ſome likeneſs- *Retract. l. 2. c. 4.*
ſake. So are theſe alſo called Scripture, and holy Scripture; yea, and ſometimes Canonical, ſome of them, by *De doctr. Chriſt. lib. 2. cap. 8.*
St. *Auſtin*. But ſo, that *aliter Hieronymus accipit vocabulum hoc, Canonicus, aliter eam vocem Auguſtinus, Innocentius, & Patres Carthaginenſes interpretanter.*
'Otherwiſe doth *Jerom* take the word Canonical; and
'otherwiſe *Auſtin*, *Innocent*, and the Fathers at the
'Councel of *Carthage*, ſaith our *Whitaker*. And ſo I *Contr. 1. Q. 1. c. 4.*
ſay, otherwiſe do the *Articles* of our Church take the word *Canonical*; and otherwiſe, ſometimes, the *Prayer-book*, and the *Homilies*. But of this more largely above. *In the anſwer to the fourth general Exception.*
Secondly, Theſe are brought in here, not as an *interrupting of the reading*, any more than the ſinging of a Pſalm (which though not expreſs Scripture, might be ſung) betwixt the Leſſons, or reading an *Exhortation* or *Prayer*; for they are brought in by way of *Hymn* onely, and are ſung alſo in ſome Churches. But in particular, *2.*
they except firſt againſt *Te Deum*, *We praiſe thee, O God, &c.* that it is a piece taken out of the *Maſs-book*, *Te Deum.*
'and in Popiſh Churches uſually ſung. Thence brought
'in by Biſhops into Proteſtant Churches; but no where
'enjoyned or warranted by any Law in force. That it
'ſhews the Biſhops are not able to give thanks them-
'ſelves for extraordinary mercies. That it is a ſuper-
'ſtitious formal dreſs, &c. To the antiquity of *Te* *Anſw.*
Deum beyond the *Maſs-book*, its reference unto St. *Ambroſe* might be teſtimony. But its being uſed there, or taken thence, doth no more derogate from the matter of it, than it doth from the Pſalmes, Epiſtles and Goſpels; or then it doth from the Doctrine of *Free-mercy* againſt *Merits*, which is yet there, and in the very office of the *Maſs*, as we ſaw above. It is record- *In anſwer to the fifth general exception.*
ed as a reputation to the old *Romans*, that they diſdained not, *nec ab hoſte doceri*;

To learn even of an enemy, for we
In what is good, all friends and fellows be.

That the Biſhops brought it in, does not argue want of ability to give thanks themſelves, but their want of *ſelf-conceit* and *ſingularity*. They prudently and modeſtly chooſing to receive and cloſe with what is good, and of *general* reception; That they might declare their communion with all Chriſtians in what they might, and, fulfilling the Apoſtles prayer; 'With one mind and 'one mouth glorifie God with the reſt of his Church. Rom. 15.

Not eſtabliſhed. *Anſw.* 'That it is no where enjoyned and warranted by any 'Law in force, is more than they have charged the Book hitherto with, having not (nor indeed being not able to do it) alledged any one thing *added* to the body pag. 28. n. 6. of the Liturgy eſtabliſhed by *Law*, but an *Appendix*, as themſelves reckon, of *three prayers*, one for the Queen or King, another for the Biſhops, a third for Queen *Anne* and the Royal Progeny. Beſides, it is 2. alſo untrue; for themſelves acknowledge, as it is in the Act. uniform. com. pr. Act for the *Uniformity of Common-prayer*, that the Books of 5, 6 *Edw.* 6. ſhall be eſtabliſhed without alteration, except *one* ſentence in the *Letany*, and the addition of two in the *Lords Supper*, &c. Now it is evident that *TE DEUM* is in King *Edwards* Books, and in the Book of Queen *Elizabeth* eſtabliſhed by Parliament, as we now receive it, with all the Kings, Parliaments, and Judges ſince; and comprehended by *Bucer* in that Elogy of his before named, *viz.* That all generally (till the *Communion*) was agreeable to Gods Word, and the uſe of the primitive Church. Which form of Communion then, hath been ſince reformed in part, as he directed. So that *Te Deum* is as well eſtabliſhed by Law, as any other part of the Book. This groſs reeling of the Brethren, doth not it argue now they were *etcetera*? To the laſt, which touches the matter of it, *viz.* That it is a *ſuperſtitious* formal dreſs, Seeing this

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is a high charge, not on it, but on the *Common-prayer-book* alſo, yea, and on the *Church of England*, it ſhould have in particular been ſhewed by the Brethren, wherein it is ſo, (for, *doloſus verſatur in univerſalibus*) This is the fruit perhaps of their *Law*-ſtudies, they have learned the courſe of *Chancery*, to charge heavy crimes, and prove nothing. But ſhall I open this *myſtery of iniquity*, to be ſuſpected in the breaſts of theſe Brethren; they ſeem to be *Socinians*, and enemies to the *Godhead* of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to the Doctrine of the *Trinity*; both which are there ſplendidly acknowledged and profeſſed in the Hymn of *Te Deum*. Mr. *Cartwright*, as it ſeems before, Dr *Reynolds*, and the reſt at *Hampton-Court*, were aſhamed to except againſt it, though they ſpared not where they thought exception might with any modeſty be taken. But, as I ſaid, here is not onely a profeſſion of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and a kind of repetition of the common *Creed* by way of *Hymn*; but a particular application of prayer unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is done in *no other* part of the Book ſo expreſſly, except the *Letany* & *Communion*. This is the ſuperſtition, it may be feared, that the Brethren aim at, for other there is none. We may now underſtand them, when they call it and other parts of the Book *Popiſh*, *ſuperſtitious*, and *Antichriſtian*; namely in his ſenſe, who writing againſt the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and the *Godhead* of the *Lord Jeſus*, entituled his book, *Antitheſis doctrinæ Chriſti, & Antichriſti de uno vero Deo.* 'An 'oppoſition of the doctrine of *Chriſt* and of *Antichriſt*, 'concerning the *one* true God. To which the learned *Zanchy* making anſwer, ſhews, that for ſtrengthning our faith in the doctrine of the *Godhead* of Chriſt: *Ad hanc fidem in cordibus noſtris ſervandam, fovendam, augendam, quàm neceſſaria eſt crebra ad Chriſtum in cœlo reſidentem, & pro nobis interpellantem, mentis elevatio* EJUSQUE *ac patris invocatio* —— *à verâ porrò & ſeriâ contemplatione perſonæ Chriſti, & ab aſſidua beneficiorum ejus commemoratione, & denique ab ardenti*

The ſpecial uſe of the hymn *TE DEUM.*

Zanch. epiſtol. dedic. ad Sturm. ante Reſp. ſuam ad Arrianum (Tom. 8.) p. 6.

ardenti nominis ejus invocatione, *quibus fovetur fides noſtra* —— *ſeparari non poteſt ſtudium perpetuum reſipiſcentiæ &c.* —— *ſunt autem hæc*, meditatio, invocatio, *reſipiſcentia*, *tria præcipua veræ fidei effecta*, &c. 'For the nouriſhing this our faith (ſaith he, in the *God-*'*head* of Chriſt, namely,) in our hearts, and for the en-'creaſing and preſerving of it, how neceſſary is the often 'lifting up our minds to Chriſt ſitting in heaven, and 'interceding for us; and as neceſſary is *prayer* to *him* 'and to the Father. Now from the true and ſerious con-'ſideration of the perſon of Chriſt, and from the conti-'nual commemoration of his benefits, and from the '*fervent calling upon his name*, whereby our *faith* is 'nouriſhed, there can not be ſeparated, an endeavour of 'perpetual repentance. Now theſe; meditation, prayers 'to him, and repentance, are the *three* chief effects of 'faith, &c. Let the Brethren then ceaſe to quarrel *Te Deum* as Popiſh (for this doctrine hath been preſerved pure in the Popiſh Church, as we ſaw above out of *Zanchy*) or elſe confeſs their own *Antichriſtianiſm*, that is their *Arianiſm* and *Socinianiſm*. Touching their exception in particular againſt *Benedicite*, or, *O all ye works of the Lord, bleſs ye the Lord.* It is firſt to be noted, as appears in the Books of King *Edw. 6.* that this was appointed for *Lent* onely, in the place of *Te Deum*; *We praiſe thee, O God*; but ſince left indifferent. Secondly for the matter of it, it contains no other doctrine, nor for the order any other method, than what is in the 104 and 148 Pſalms, with ſomething out of the 118 Pſalm, being a convenient *compages* of them. What the Title is in the *Apocrypha* needs not to be mention'd here, ſpeaking of the *Common-prayer-book*, in which it hath no title. As for the reproaches here caſt upon it, and the holy Martyrs the compilers of the Liturgy, who put it in, of *bungling*, and *Maſs-book*, and *belying* the Canonical Text, becauſe it is ſaid to be the ſong of the *three childr.* in the furnace, mentioned by *Daniel*; which yet may be well underſtood

Prayer to Chriſt neceſſary, for the ſtrengthning of faith in him.

Three chief effects of faith.

In the anſwer to the fifth general Exception.

Benedicite; or, *O all ye works, &c.*

Anſw. 1.

2.

3.

4.

Dan. 3.

derſtood to be ſo, as *Auſtin* we heard above, underſtood the Book of *Wiſd.* and *Eccleſiaſticus* to be called *Solomons, ob quandam ſimilitudinē*, becauſe of a kind of likeneſs: ſo. *Anſ.* It is no way probable, but that thoſe 3. children did praiſe God in the midſt of the fire, which they ſaw he reſtrained from hurting of them, and might juſtly take occaſion to magnifie God for his Works in the Creatures, in giving them ſuch vertues, and yet reſtraining them at his pleaſure; and ſo if it were not indeed, yet *ob quandam ſimilitudinem*, for ſome likeneſs ſake, it may not be unfitly called ſo. But howſoever, who ſhall compare it, will find that it doth in all things follow the pattern of the *Pſalms* above mentioned, and ſo of the Scripture, and though *Apocryphal*, yet is a fit form of thankſgiving. But, as I ſaid, the *Bunglings*, and *Maſs-book*, and *lying*, we leave them to the father of lies, and to thoſe his children that by *imitating* that Parent in *calumny* and *falſhood* do merit to be *his heirs*. But yet God in his mercy give them repentance, and pardon, and according to their *Baptiſm* (the form whereof they do little leſs than blaſpheme) 'make them the *members of Chriſt*, the *children of God*, and *inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven*.

SECT. IV.

The Reſponds of the People.

Fourth Exception. The Reſponds. P. 27, 28. n. 4.

The fourth exception is againſt the *Reſponds* and Anſwers of the People to the Miniſter appointed in the Prayer-Book, excepting *Amen*. The Brethren ſay, 'They 'have no *warrant* from the Word and are Will-worſhip, 'nor can be done in *Faith*. That they *interrupt* the read-'ing, contrary to the Preface, are taken out of the *Maſs-'Book onely*, that there are above one hundred of them. To which are added the Peoples anſwering the *Confeſſion* of ſins, *Creed*, and every other Verſe of the *Pſalms*. But they omit the Principal, the *matter* and the *uſe*, of which

anon.

1. Number. tion. First for the *number*. Though they may be ſo many in the whole, yet are they not all in *one* ſervice, but ſo divided that they are neither burdenſome nor confuſed.

2. To the *interrupting* of the reading, and the *Maſs-book*, hath been anſwered.

3. Nowhere elſe. If all were reading where were the Liturgy? That they are ſaid to be *no where* elſe: If they ſpeak of the ſubſtance of them, argues their want of reading in Antiquity (which they would ſeem to have ſeriouſly conſulted) and of the practice of ſome in later times. Are there not in the ancient Liturgies (mentioned by themſelves) many *Reſponds* and Anſwers of the People? Whether thoſe Liturgies be theirs whoſe names they bear is, not the queſtion, but *ancient* they are; and the queſtion is whether they had any ſuch anſwerings of the People; which every one by inſpection may ſee they had. We will cite but two Witneſſes, the one Ancient, the other Modern. The firſt ſhall be the Liturgy of *Chryſoſtome*. How often is repeated beſides the *Amen*, κύριε, ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy upon us; and Σοὶ κύριε, To thee, O Lord, we commend them. παράσχου κύριε Lord vouchſafe pardon. And ſometimes longer Reſponds than any of ours are and the *very ſame* in ſenſe; as at the Communion. The Prieſt, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ: Let us give thanks unto the Lord: Then ὁ λαός, the People: Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι προσκυνεῖν πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον. 'It is meet and right to worſhip the Father, the 'Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, the Trinity of the ſame, and undivided ſubſtance. And a little after, ὁ λαός. Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαββαὼθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. *The People*; (for ſo Chorus is taken alſo both in the *Poets*, and, as we ſhall ſee ſtraightway, in Neoterick Liturgies) 'Holy, holy, holy 'Lord of Sabbath, Heaven and Earth are full of thy 'Glory. Hoſanna in the higheſt. Bleſſed be he that co-'meth in the Name of the Lord, Hoſanna in the higheſt. And afterward the Prieſt and the Deacon having uttered their ſentences, ὁ ἱερεύς: Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχα-

Liturg. Chryſoſt. Tom. 6.

εὐστοῦμεν,

εὐχόμεθα, κλέπτομεν, ἐυλογέμεν σε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. The People; 'We praiſe thee, we bleſs thee, we give thanks unto 'thee, O Lord, and we ſupplicate unto thee, O our God. Which are the (words much of them) of one of the Peoples Reſponds at *the Communion in our Liturgy*. The next (for I omit other things) ſhall be that *notable* Liturgy called the *Book of the Reformation of Colen*, compiled by * *Bucer*, one of our own Reformers, and *Melanchthon* and *Piſtorius* all *thorough-Proteſtants* and men of eminency, as all know, in the Church. The Book is ſo remarkable, that it hath been tranſlated into Engliſh (the Latine Copy I follow) and it is a moſt uſefull piece for all thoſe *Miniſters*, that would *ſeriò* and in good earneſt, feed the Flock of God, over which the holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers. In this *Common Prayer Book* (beſides the Symphony in Doctrine in ſome things carped at by the Brethren in our Liturgy, of which anon) there are ſeveral Reſponds and Anſwers of the *People*. Not here to inſiſt upon the Anſwers of the Sureties in Baptiſm in the name of the child. As *creditis, credimus; renunciatis, renunciamus; confitemini, confitemur*. 'Do you be-'lieve? We believe; Do you renounce? We renounce; 'Do you confeſs? We confeſs. *Vultis, volumus*. (As in our own Liturgy, in private Baptiſm) 'Doeſt thou in the name of this child, &c.) Will you? We will. Afterward. Paſtor, *Dominus vobiſcum. Populus, & cum ſpiritu tuo*. 'The Lord be with you. The People anſwer, 'And 'with thy Spirit, &c. and this ſeveral times. Then in the celebration of the Communion, *Sacerdos, ſurſum corda. Populus, Habemus ad Dominum. Sacerdos, Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro. Populus, Dignum & juſtum eſt*. The *Prieſt*, (*note Prieſt*) 'Lift up your hearts. The People, 'We lift them up unto the Lord (the very words we uſe.) The *Prieſt*, 'Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. The People, 'It is meet and right ſo to do. Again, in the *Lent*, and on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* in the uſe of the *Letany*. The People are appointed to anſwer the ſame that ours are. 'O God the Father of Heaven, have mercy 'upon

Lib. Herman. Archiep. colon. Reformation.

* *Vid.* Sleidan *com. lib.* 15. *Ad Ann.* 1543.

Againſt it, the Popiſh party wrote the *Antididagma*.

Anſwers of the witneſſes in Baptiſm.

The Litany.

'upon us. Spare us O Lord. O Lord deliver us. Hear us 'O Lord, and the reſt. Miniſter, O Lord deal not with 'us after our ſins. People, Neither reward us after our 'iniquities. Miniſter. Call upon me in the day of trou-'ble. People. And I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt 'glorifie me. Miniſter. Aſſiſt us, O God of our ſalvati-'on. People. And for the glory of thy Name ſake de-'liver us, and be mercifull to our ſins for thy Name ſake. 'Miniſter. Lord ſhew thy mercy upon us. *Chorus.* And 'ſhew us thy ſalvation. Miniſter. And enter not into 'judgement with thy ſervants. *Chorus.* For in thy ſight, 'ſhall no man living be juſtified. Then for the other parts of the Service, *Eccleſia tota canat ſymbolum fidei. Let the whole Congregation*, ſing or repeat the *Confeſſion of the Faith*. And for the *Pſalms* and *Hymns*, *Hic* Sanctus *ſubjiciatur, quòd ubi erunt clerici, ab eis canatur Latinè, à populo verò Germanicè*, Alternatim ter utrinque. *Id verò quod addi ſolet*, Dominus Deus *Zebaoth*, & Benedictus, *à Tota Eccleſia communiter canatur ac ideo Germanicè*. Here let the Hymn *Sanctus* be added; which, if there be Clerks, they may ſing it in *Latine*; but by the People in *Dutch* (their natural Tongue.) But let it be *ſung by courſe, three times by both ſides*. And that which is wont to be added, namely, '*Lord God of Sabbath*, and '*Benedictus*, let it be repeated or ſung, by the whole 'Congregation together in their own Tongue. You ſee by the Premiſſes, not onely that the Peoples bearing a part in the Service is more antient than the *Maſs-book*: but alſo that *our* very Anſwers are ſo, and uſed in other Liturgies than the *Maſs-book*; ſo that we might juſtly let our Brethren hear how *the lye*, and *meer tale*, would ſound in their own ear; but, their tongues are their own, 'and who is Lord over them? To the fourth, That they would make theſe Reſponds and Anthemes to contradict the *Preface* of the Book, where 'tis ſaid, 'For the preventing the 'interrupting of the reading of Scripture, be cut off An-'tiphonies, Reſponds, Invitatories, and ſuch like things 'as did break the continual courſe of reading the Scripture.

Repetitions of the People.

Repeating by courſe.

Pſal. 12.

4. Preface Com. Prayer book.

'ture. It is to be noted that they do not ſay; that all *Reſponds*, &c. do interrupt the reading, or that they did cut off all, but ſuch as did; ſome by their *change* and *pertinency of matter*, do help the reading. To the fifth, That ſuch anſwering hath no warrant from the Word, and ſo cannot be done in faith, but is will-worſhip. Firſt, in general. If their meaning be, that we muſt have for every thing in Religion an expreſs word, they fall in with the *Arrians* of old, as was ſhewed above, and with the *Anabaptiſts* now, who urge that argument. But do thereby condemn the way of reaſoning, uſed by our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, by his *Apoſtles*, and by *all* men, who have ever taken it a lawful way from *general* grounds, to collect *particular* concluſions. And indeed, to ſpeak properly, without this, there can be *no* reaſoning at all; for that is nothing elſe. Secondly, It condemns *all* the Liturgies and forms, or Directories of Gods worſhip, that ever have been in the world; in *none* of which, *every particular* can be found in rule or example in the Word. Thirdly, It overthrows the very *foundation* of thoſe that ſhould be drawn out of the Word; for ſeeing there is not there ſet down *any form* of publick worſhip in *all* the parts of it, and in *each* particular; how is it poſſible that from thence any Liturgy can be drawn, if this ground be good, that every ſeveral muſt in particular be warranted thence? Our Saviour thought otherwiſe, *viz.* 'That what was not *againſt* him, was on his part. But in particular. That there are reſponds in the publick worſhip mention'd in Scripture. Firſt, it would be known by what *rule* of *conſequence*, thoſe who are allowed in Scripture to *ſing*, *confeſs*, and *pray* altogether, (for their ſongs do contain all theſe) may not do it alſo by parts and turns, as the * *Levites* alſo did, both for *eaſe* and for *ſolemnity*, to praiſe and to give thanks, ſaith the Text, *ward over againſt ward*. And *Ezr.* 3. 11 They ſung together by courſe, praiſing, &c. Again, by what rule may not the *Spouſe* of Chriſt, the *Church*, and his *People*, who in ſome ſenſe are called *Prieſts*; and who are courſe.

Interrupting the reading.

Anſw.

5. No warrant.

Anſw. 1.

2.

3.

Mar. 9. 40.

Anſw. 2.

In particular.

1.

* Neh. 12. 24. 38.

2.

1 Pet. 2. 1 Sam. 18. 7.

The women anſwer by

are bound to worſhip him publickly in ſpirit, be permitted *orderly* to expreſs themſelves unto God with their mouthes. Next, let us come to Examples. Firſt,

3. *Examples.* in general. And for ground we muſt lay this, That ſolemn and publick *thankſgiving* is not onely a *part of worſhip*, but the *choiceſt* alſo of it; for, 'He that offer-

1. Pſal. 50. 'eth me praiſe, he honoreth me, ſaith the Lord; that is, he honoreth me in a ſpecial manner. Now then, *Ne-*

1. Neh. 12. 31, 38. '*hemiah* ſet *two great companies*, not of the *Prieſts* 'onely, but of the *Princes*, and of the *People*. The one 'went on the right hand, &c. And (*verſ.* 38.) the 'other company of them that *gave thanks*, went over 'againſt them, and I after them, and the half of the '*people* upon the wall. Namely, thoſe that went on the right hand, mentioned, *verſ.* 31. as *Tremellius* expounds it. And in particular, to take off the ſcruple, 'tis ſaid, '*verſ.* 43. 'That the wives alſo and children rejoyced, 'ſo that the joy of *Jeruſalem* was heard even afar off. Now is it to be imagined, that theſe companies of the people appointed to praiſe God; the women and children who helped; that the joy was heard afar off: that theſe, I ſay, ſpake nothing, but like beaſts made a noiſe

2. without any expreſſions? They had no doubt taken ex-

Exod. 15. 20. ample by the people, and *Miriams* with the women (which is another, I think, unanſwerable evidence) who joyned with *Moſes*, in the ſong of victory over the *Ægyptians*. And had the *burden* of that hymn; for 'tis ſaid expreſly, that *Miriam* (and ſo the women) *an-ſwered* them, (namely, the men:) 'Sing ye to the Lord, 'for he hath triumphed glorioufly, the horſe and his 'rider hath he thrown into the Sea; which are the words wherein *Moſes* and the people had begun unto them, *verſe* 1. 'So that not onely men, but women and chil-

Object. 'dren, who are forbidden to uſurp authority, ſo as to

1 Tim. 2. 'ſpeak by way of teaching in the Church; yet are in

Anſw. ſolemn worſhip admitted to bear their parts. Elſe how *tedious* would it have been to the whole body of the people to ſtand like ſtocks, and have neither part in the worſhip,

worſhip, nor means to excite their devotion. Hence alſo is it, that not the Prieſts onely, but *Iſrael* is ſaid to ſing this ſong: 'Spring up, O well, ſing ye (or as it is 'in the Original, and alſo in the Margin of the Bible, '*anſwer* ye) unto it; namely, by way of reſpond, as the cuſtom it ſeems was. What appearance elſe hath that *Pſalm*, wherein, *For his mercy endureth for ever*, is repeated *twenty ſix* times, even every verſe of the Pſalm (which by the way may check thoſe who except againſt the *repetitions* in the Common-prayer-book) but that it was the part born by the *people*; though it is not denyed, but that the *Levites* might go before the people, and perhaps the Prieſts before them; as we ſaw above out of the Liturgy of *Chryſoſtom*, the Prieſt, the Deacon, (who was in ſtead of the Levite) and the people, followed one another in the publick worſhip. *Antiſtites clarâ voce precantur, communis oratio voce* Diaconi *indicitur.* I have done with their exceptions to this point. But, as I ſaid, they omit the *principal*, which is the *matter* and *uſe* of theſe *anſwers* of the people. They ſhould have ſhewn, that it was different from the word; elſe what is agreeable thereunto may be made uſe of in publick by thoſe, who are no where forbidden to do it, eſpecially when we have an implicite command for ſo doing. For if all things in Gods worſhip be to be done that may further *edification*, then ſurely ſuch *Anſwers* ought not to be excepted againſt, which are ſo uſeful to that end. 1 They help the *intention* of the people, 2 they allay the peril of *tedium* and *wearineſs*; 3 they engage to duty, as proceeding out of their *own* mouthes; 4 and they excite and ſtir up their devotion. Whereupon the antient Church was ſo enamoured with them. *Socrates, lib. 6. c.* 8. reports, that this cuſtom was delivered to the Church by *Ignatius*, *Antiochiæ —— tertius ab Apoſtolo Petro Epiſcopus, qui cum Apoſtolis ipſis multum verſatus eſt.* Not to aſcribe much to his viſion; this ſhews both the antiquity and the veneration the primitive Church had of it. And the latter

3. Num. 21. 17.

4. Pſal. 136.

Aug. ep. 119. *Janu. cap.* 18. As with us the Miniſter, the Clerk, and the People.

2. Uſe of Anſwering.

Socr. l. 6. c. 8.

times being taught by experience, have ſo carefully improved them. Both which we ſaw above, and more fully repreſented by * another. I conclude this with that excellent and uſeful, in this and other like caſes, ſentence of *S. Auſtin*: *Una in his ſaluberrima regula retinenda. Ut quæ non ſunt contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores, & habet aliquid ad exhortationem Vitæ melioris, ubicunque inſtitui videmus, vel inſtituta cognoſcimus; non ſolum non improbemus, ſed etiam laudando, & imitando ſectemur.* 'In theſe things there is one wholſome rule 'to be obſerved, *viz.* That thoſe things that are not 'againſt the doctrine of *faith*, or *piety* of life, and have 'any advantage to ſtir up *to amendment* of life, where-'ſoever we ſee them appointed, or know that they have 'been ſo; let us not onely *forbear to blame* them, but al-'ſo by *praiſing* and *imitating* let us follow them. But what if ſome be offended at it? he anſwers: *Si aliquorum infirmitas non ita impedit, ut amplius detrimentum ſit. Si enim eo modo impediat, ut majora ſtudiorum lucra ſperanda ſint, quàm calumniatorum detrimenta metuenda, ſine dubitatione faciendum.* 'If, ſaith he, the infirmity 'of ſome do not hinder ſo, that it be rather a greater 'hindrance. For if it ſo hinder, that there is hope of 'greater benefit to the endeavours of the people, then 'harm feared by thoſe that ſpeak ill of it, without doubt 'it is to be done. Which I hope is our caſe. Laſtly, to the *repetition* of the *Pſalms* by courſe, it is not commanded, but a cuſtome, not obſerved by all.

* *R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 39.*

Auſtin. ad Januar. ep. 119. cap. 18.

VVhen the ſcandalizing of ſome need not hinder us.

Repetit. Pſalms.

Except. 5. Againſt the Letany.

The next Exception is againſt the *Letany*, whoſe faults ſo far as is common with the other, have been cleared above. To that of compiling it into *one prayer*: argues the ignorance both of the nature of vehement and *fervent* prayer, ſuch as the Letany is; and of the *infirmity* of the people, of whom eſpecially reſpect is to be had in Gods ſervice. Violent things cannot be held out long; and 'tis the *violent* prayer that takes heaven by force, as our Saviour ſpeaks. Now ſuch prayers are like ſtrong pulls, that require a breathing betwixt; or a freſh

Matth. 11. 12.

freſh whetting of the affections. Again, the people are loſt in long and continued prayers. *Convenit in ſacris actionibus, eam —— adhiberi moderationem, quæ conducit religioni populi excitandæ, non præbeat prolixitate occaſionem aliquam* negligentiæ *vel pio animi* ardori *minuendo. Liturg. Colon. de Baptiſm.* The repeating of ſome things in the Letany by the people, doth not take away, that the Miniſter ſhould be the mouth of the people, or make themſelves his mouth; but his mouth, going before, theirs following after, is, as a thorn to the breaſt of the *Nightingale*, to keep up their attention and *devotion*. To that of leaving out of the Letany: *From the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his debitable enormities.* Though this quarrel is againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Reformation, and the Parliament then; yet it is anſwered, that the clauſe is ſufficiently known, by comparing the Book of *Edw. 6.* with this, which the *Parliament* judged to be ſufficient for the thing it ſelf. Times and perſons may ſo differ, that *Paul* writing to the *Coloſſians* (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, I might add, and to the *Galatians*) inveigheth ſeverely againſt obſervation of *Jewiſh times* and *ceremonies*; which yet he maketh little of to the *Romans*; the times and perſons differed. The *Coloſſians* and *Galatians* had been long in the faith, and now put a *righteouſneſs* and a *neceſſity* in thoſe obſervations. The *Romans* were but weak in the faith, and obſerved thoſe things as religious exerciſes, which yet they might have more conſcience of than was requiſite; but out of *weakneſs* onely, not out of *conceitedneſs* or *carnal wiſdom*. So here. Effectual courſe was to be taken to draw off the minds of the people from the opinion they then had of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which now being effected, we muſt take heed we go not to the other extreme, by continuing of that prayer to alienate more and more thoſe amongſt us affected to him, from our *publick ſervice*, which the *Act* againſt *Recuſancy* (not then made) doth oblige them to frequent. Hence both the precept of King *James*, prohibiting

2.

3. Tyran. Biſhop of *Rome*, *Anſw.*

Chryſoſt. prolog. ad Pauli epiſt. Coloſſ. 2. Gal. 4. Rom. 14.

Act againſt Recuſancy.

Directions for Preachers, *anno* 1622. *Art.* 6. Dr. *Usher.*

'prohibiting *bitter invectives* and undiſcreet railing ſpeeches againſt the perſons of either *Papiſts* or *Puritans*. 'And the practice of thoſe in *Ireland* (related in my hearing by the late *Lord Primate*) not to inveigh againſt 'Popery it ſelf, but (as the Kings words are) modeſtly 'and gravely, (when they are occaſioned by the Text of 'Scripture) free both the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the 'Church of *England* from the aſperſion of either.

6. Exception. Additions of Prayers, &c.

To that Exception they have againſt three Prayers, one for the Queen or King, another for the Biſhops, a third for Queen *Anne* and the Royal Family, onely becauſe not confirmed by Parliament, and therefore not to be uſed without danger of *Law*, hath been anſwered above. To the ſeventh Exception, That whereas the Preface of the Common-prayer-book ſaith, 'That things uncertain, 'vain and ſuperſtitious, be cut off; and nothing ordained 'to be read, but the very pure Word of God, the holy 'Scripture, or that which is evidently grounded on the 'ſame; And that the Collects for Chriſtmas day, and Whitſunday ſay, 'That Chriſt was *born on this day*, and 'that the Holy Ghoſt deſcended *as on the other, viz.* 'Whitſunday; and theſe to be read ſeven days after. They ſay firſt, 'On what Scripture is it *evidently grounded* that Chriſt was born *on this very day*? As alſo, that 'the Holy Ghoſt deſcended on that day, ſeeing it is a 'moveable Feaſt, and that therefore it is groſs *lying to God, and horrible abuſing of God in Prayer.* Firſt, we muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt *things* and the *circumſtance* of them, which are eſpecially Time and Place. No *thing*, that is, no matter of *Doctrine* or point of *Worſhip* (requiſite to edification in faith and holineſs) is appointed to be read, but out of the very pure Word of God, or that which is evidently grounded on the ſame. But as for *circumſtances* of *times*, or *names* of *places*, they are not either Doctrine of Faith, or Matter of the Worſhip, but Appendixes which vary not the ſubſtance of the Book. 2. In particular. On *Chriſtmas* day they appoint theſe words: 'O God, who haſt given thy Son, *this day* to be born, &c.

In the Reply to the ſixth general Exception.

Preface Common-prayer.

Except. 7.

Pag. 29. n. 7.

Anſw. 1.

Collect for Chriſtmas day.

First,

First, they do not say, as the Brethren unfaithfully relate it; this *very* day, then indeed it might have been doubtfull; but, *this* day, which admits a latitude, and doth not binde the understanding to that very day, it is sufficient, if it be so commonly conceived and taken. *Sæpe ita loquimur, ut pascha propinquante dicamus, crastinam, vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit——Nempe ipso die dominico dicimus, hodiè Dominus resurrexit, cum ex quo resurrexit, tot anni transierunt. Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies, secundum illorum quibus hæc gesta sunt,* similitudinem *nuncupamus, ut dicatur* ipse *dies, qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis, similis ejus.* Thus we often speak (saith the Father) that, 'when Easter is coming, we say to morrow, or two days 'off is the passion (Good Friday;) so on the Lords day, we 'say the Lord rose to day, whereas so many years are past 'sed since; wherefore is no man so *foolish*, as to say we 'lye (the Brethrens words) because we call those days so by way of similitude and *likeness* to those wherein such things were done. No lye then if we say *this day*, or as *this day*, in *Austins* judgement, but onely in the opinion of those, whose like for folly had not *then* been. Again, they might remember that even Antiquity did not celebrate it as an Article of *Faith. Noveris, diem natalis Domini, non in Sacramento celebrari, sed tantum in memoriam revocari, quòd natus sit.* 'Thou shalt know, saith 'S. *Austin*, that the day of *Christs birth* is not celebrated 'as a Sacrament, but onely as a memorial that he was 'born. And therefore needed not such exactness in the very day. Thirdly, the Church of *England* in saying *this* day, followed the steps of Antiquity, which did so account. *Nam ille (Joh. Baptista) natus est, sicut tradit* Ecclesia, *octavo calendas julias, cùm jam incipiunt dies minui: Dominus autem natus octavo calendas Januarias, quando jam dies incipiunt crescere.* 'For he (*John Baptist*, 'saith the Father) was born according as the Church hath 'delivered it, on the *eighth of the Calends* of *July* (that is

Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonif.

Aug. Januar. Epist. 119. c. 1.

Aug. in Ps. 132. prope fin.

Vid. ut de Temp. Serm. 12.

'is the twenty fourth of *June*) when the days now begin 'to *ſhorten*; but our Lord, on the *eighth of the Calends* 'of *January* (that is, *Decemb.* 25. for the Calends muſt 'be reckoned *backward*, beginning at the *firſt* day of the *following* moneth) when the days now begin to lengthen.

Collect for Whitſunday.

Fourthly, Touching that of *Whitſunday*, they do not ſay *this* day, as on the Nativity, but *as on* this day; noting as S. *Auſtin* ſaid above, not a Sacrament, but a commemoration onely, which is as much as if the Church had ſaid, The memory of this benefit we celebrate on this day, as if it had been done therein. Which is evident to be the Churches meaning, becauſe it needed not the Brethrens tuition to make them underſtand, that *Whitſunday* is a *moveable Feaſt*, falling ſometimes ſooner, ſometimes later. To the laſt, of repeating the Collect for theſe days ſeven days after, as if this were a groſs lying to God, and horrible abuſing of God in prayer. I might anſwer onely that which was ſaid above to the like exception, of not changing the *Qu. name* into the *Kings*; it *foams out their own ſhame*, and therefore needs no other reply. But yet, that Rubrick or *Admonition* which gives liberty to change whole *Chapters* appointed, doth much more intend that men ſhould ſpeak *ſenſe*.

As on this day.

Repeating the Collect ſeven days.

In anſwer to their exception againſt the *matter* of the Artic. *n.* 6.

* Adm. before 2 Tom. *Homil.*

Except. 8.

The eighth Exception is againſt thoſe words in the thankſgiving after the proper Collect at the Communion: 'Therefore with Angels and *Archangels*, &c. we laud 'and magnifie, &c. They ſay this is an uncertainty, if not an untruth, for the Scripture never ſpeaks of more Archangels than one, 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 16. 'That this one is *Mi-* 'chael, *Jude*, *v.* 12. to wit, Chriſt, *Dan.* 10. 21. *Revel.* '12, 7. where 'tis ſaid there was a war betwixt *Michael* 'and his Angels, and the Dragon and his Angels.

Therefore with Angels.

P. 29, 30. *n.* 8.

Anſw. Firſt, If this Archangel be he mentioned in 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 16. where 'tis ſaid the Lord himſelf, namely the Lord Jeſus, ſhall *deſcend* from Heaven (therefore this is ſpoken of the Lord Chriſt) with a ſhout with the voice of the *Archangel*; then this Archangel cannot be Chriſt, for he ſhall deſcend from Heaven with the ſhout of this Archangel

Archangel. Secondly, How doth it appear that this Archangel is *Michael* mentioned in *Jude*, *verſe* 9. that ſtrove with Satan about the body of *Moſes*. Surely Chriſt needed not to diſpute then with the *Devil*, nor to pray, *The Lord rebuke thee*, he was yet *God* onely, and might (not being as yet *actually* Mediator) have puniſh'd him. And 'tis ſaid, 'He *durſt* not bring againſt him a railing accuſation. (Remember Brethren, the *Devil* muſt not be *railed* at: much leſs Gods *Saints* and Servants.) 'Tis not like the language of Chriſt. Thirdly, How doth it appear, that there are no more *Archangels* than one? ſeeing firſt we reade not onely *Epheſ.*1. of 'Principality and Power, and Might 'and Dominion in heavenly *places*, which ſurely implies ſome *degrees* in the Angelical Hierarchy, but alſo *chap.*6. again, ſpeaking of the evil Angels (as it ſeems) he names *Principalities* and *Powers*. And in *Daniel*, *Michael* is aſ- Dan.12.1.
ſigned as the Prince of the Jewiſh People; but there is alſo mentioned the Prince of the Kingdom of *Perſia*. Chap.10.13.
'And another is deſcribed to be in his body as the Beryl, & 'his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as 'lamps of fire, and his arms and feet like in colour to 'poliſhed braſs, and the voice of his words like the voice 'of a multitude. Surely this ſeems to be an *Arch* and *primary Angel*. And he ſays that *Michael* helped him, and he calls him *one* of the chief *Princes* (Angelical Verſe 13.
namely) he doth not ſay the *chief onely*. *Calvin* thinks it not neceſſary to underſtand *Chriſt* by *Michael*. And *Calv. in* Dan.
Mr. *Brightman* underſtands by *Michael*, *Rev.*12.7. *Con-* 10.6. *& in cap.*
ſtantine the Great. Again, we reade in *Ezekiel* of four 12.1.
living creatures, which he expoundeth to be Cherubins, Ezek.1. and
a diſtinct Order as it ſeems from the ordinary Angels, for chap.10.
this Type ſeems to anſwer to that *Revel.*4. of the four Beaſts; but they were not the ordinary ſort of Angels, for theſe are diſtinguiſhed from them, *verſe* 11. And all the *Angels* ſtood round about the Throne, and about the Elders, and the *four Beaſts*. Again, we read of *Seraphims*, as an order diſtinct again from the general one Iſa. 6.
of Angels. Or if both Cherubims and Seraphims be taken

Luk. 1. 19. *Gabriel.* for Angels in general, (which ſeems not to agree) yet we read of *Gabriel* the Angel, that was ſent on two the *greateſt* Embaſſies, that ever were or ſhall be, namely, to annunciate the conception of *John Baptiſt*, (the meſſenger of the Meſſiah) and the conception of *Chriſt* himſelf; now ſurely the greateſt errands are performed by the greateſt perſons. Very reaſonably therefore may we think, that *Gabriel* was one of the very chiefeſt Angels. Raſhly therefore and without ground do the Brethren tax the Church for naming of *Archangels*, whereof it hath ſo many rational probabilities; and affirm their is but one, whereof they have no proof, and fail in the very firſt of them. The ninth Exception is againſt that prayer after the Communion, and this expreſſion of it, *viz.* 'Thoſe things which for our unwor-'thineſs we dare not ask: They ſay, Why do we pray 'elſewhere, for ought elſe at all, ſeeing we have the 'worthineſs of Chriſt, and Gods promiſe, and his com-'mand. But the Brethren might know, or remember, that this objection was urged long ſince with *more ſtrength*, *viz.* 'That it ſavours of Popiſh ſervile fear, 'and not of that confidence and reverend familiarity, 'that the children of God have, through Chriſt, with 'their heavenly Father, ſaith Mr. *Cartwright*. I ſhall give firſt my own ſenſe, and then refer to the anſwer returned by that learned Reſpondent. And firſt in general. Two things there are, which we are more ſpecially to endeavour to be quallified with to *prayer*; firſt, *deep humility*; and next, *lively faith*. By the one we 'ſhall with *Jacob* confeſs our ſelves leſs than the leaſt 'of all Gods mercies. By the other we ſhall, with 'St. *John*, know, that we ſhall have the petitions that 'we ask of him. God he reſiſts the *proud*, but gives grace 'onely to the *humble*, and thoſe that have their whole hope in the mediation of his *Son*. This makes *returns* of prayer ſweet, God lovely, Chriſt pretious, the heart humble, the conſcience peaceable; when we are nothing in our ſelves, but *Chriſt* is our Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification,

Except. 9. For our unworthineſs, &c.

lib. 1. *p.* 136. *Hook. eccleſ. pol. l.* 5. §. 47.

1. General anſwer.

1.

Geneſ. 32. 10.

1 Joh. 5. 14, 15.

Joh. 14.

1 Cor. 1.

Sanctification, Redemption, and in a word, *all in all*. Col. 3. Secondly, 'tis ſurely as lawful to acknowledge our *unworthineſs* as our blindneſs, but that they do not except again[1], which is in the next clauſe. But in particular, the prayers of the Church are ſo fitted, that they may meet with the *ſtate* and condition of *all* the members. Now in the Church, there are not onely old men in grace, and young men, but *children* alſo, as the Apoſtle diſtinguiſheth. Of this laſt ſort are thoſe, who though they might further ask, yet being preſſed with their own unworthineſs and ſenſe of their ſins; they are in a manner diſcouraged, till they reflect on the worthineſs of Chriſt. Yea, the very beſt are ſubject ſometimes to over much ſenſibleneſs of their unworthineſs in prayer, as alſo of the contrary, of their too much goodneſs. Let us now ſee what hath been replyed to this formerly, which ſince my writing, having now read, I obſerve amongſt other conſiderable things (as well he conſidered what he wrote, if any other) this, 'That 'the very *natural root of unthankfulneſs* is threefold 'always, namely, either *ignorance*, *diſſimulation*, or 'pride. *Ignorance*, when we know not the Author from 'whom our good cometh. *Diſſimulation*, when our 'hands are more open than our eyes upon that we re-'ceive. *Pride*, when we think our ſelves *worthy* of that, 'which meer grace and undeſerved mercy beſtoweth. Again, 'the very *ſilence* that our unworthineſs putteth 'us unto, doth it ſelf make requeſt for us, and that in 'confidence of his grace. With which anſwer I end my reply unto this point.

2. Anſwer in particular. Aptneſs of the prayers of the Church. 1 Joh. 2.

R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. § 47.

1. Three roots of unthankfulneſs.

The tenth particular againſt which they object, is in the ſecond prayer at Baptiſm, in which we pray, that Infants coming to Baptiſm may receive *remiſſion of their ſins by ſpiritual regeneration*. The Brethren except: 'That remiſſion of ſins is not received *by* or *from* ſpi-'ritual regeneration, but by and from the blood of 'Chriſt, *Heb.* 9. 22. 1 *Joh.* 1. 7. But they grant, that 'remiſſion of ſins and *regeneration* flow from one and the

Except. 10. Remiſſion by ſpiritual Regeneration.

'ſame fountain, and are both conveyed and ſealed in
Anſw. 'Baptiſm, *ſeminally* at leaſt. Which words being before, have ſo way-laid the other, that they do not onely ſtop them, but deſtroy them. For if regeneration and remiſſion of ſins, be both conveyed and ſealed in Baptiſm; the queſtion onely is, which is firſt and *cauſal* one to the other; or whether they be both *co-ordinate*, and without dependance one from the other. Which doubt is ſoon anſwered, if we conſider, firſt; That Baptiſm of water, through the Word, is made by our Saviour the inſtrument of the new-birth: 'Unleſs (ſaith he) a man be born
Joh. 3. 'of water and of the holy Ghoſt, &c. And he did *ſanctifie*
Eph. 5. 'and cleanſe the Church, with the waſhing of *water*
Tit. 3. 'by the Word. And he ſaved us by the *waſhing* of Re-
'generation, and renewing of the holy Ghoſt, ſaith the
Eph. 3. 'Apoſtle. By Baptiſm we do *put on Chriſt*. And are by
'one ſpirit baptized into one body; *viz.* that of Chriſt. Hence *firſt*, we partake of the *new nature*, are *born to God*, and become his *children*; whereupon follows the *remiſſion* of ſins, by vertue indeed of the blood of Chriſt; but this blood is not communicated *out* of the body, nor to any but thoſe that are members of it, and by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, regenerated therein by
Matth. 27. Baptiſm. Hence our Saviour, before he gave the Cup at his laſt Supper, wherewith he promiſed remiſſion of ſins, he premiſeth; 'This is my Body, ſpeaking of the Bread firſt to be received; which the Apoſtle expounding, ſaith:
1 Cor. 10. 'We being many, are one bread and one body: And
'that the bread is the communion of the body of Chriſt.
'That *firſt*; then the Cup, the communion of his blood,
'for the remiſſion of ſins. Now we are baptized into this *body*, in this body we have *ſpiritual* regeneration, or
Remiſſion of ſins by ſpiritual regeneration. the new birth, and God now reckons us and owns us for his children, and being ſuch; he confers the blood that is in the body, for the forgiveneſs of ſins. I am not ignorant, that *Adoption* is made an effect or *conſequent* of our *Juſtification* and forgiveneſs of ſins. But if we conſider, that we muſt have *union* with Chriſt, before

we

we can have communion; and that this communion effects first our *regeneration* and being born to God; we shall see that remission of sin is consequent, as an effect thereof. We receive it by and from the blood of Christ, but by the medium of *Regeneration*, this blood being sprinkled actually on none but those that are *regenerate*, at least *sacramentally*, and in respect of the *outward application* of the *Covenant* of grace; in which respect, all the children of *Israel* (after Circumcision, which was the seal of the righteousness of faith) were owned by God as *regenerate* persons, were his children, and had the *priviledge* of children, the *remission* of sins. And hence it is, that in the *Creed* we believe first the *holy catholick Church*, and *communion of Saints*; *viz.* conjunction into one mystical body of Christ, and then the *forgiveness* of sins. Because to this communion and the members thereof, namely, those that are born again, and of sons of *Adam*, are by *Baptism* and the *holy Ghost* become the sons of *God*; is this priviledge appropriated, that they have the remission of sins. But that the Church ascribeth forgivness of sins, even in this form of Baptism, to the *blood of Christ* onely, appears in the prayer immediately *before* the act of Baptizing, which runs thus: 'Almighty and everliving God, whose 'most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiv- 'ness of our sins, did shed out of his most pretious 'side both water and blood, &c. Then the Church shews *how* this regeneration is wrought, and what is the consequent of it, in the prayer *after* Baptism; namely, 'We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, 'that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this Infant with 'thy *holy Spirit* (Baptism is but the *instrument*) to re- 'ceive him for thine own child by Adoption, (see, '*Adoption* follows *Regeneration*) and to *incorporate* 'him, &c.

Rom. 4. 11.

Communion of Saints, forgivness of sins.

Prayer before Baptism.

Prayer after.

See the Artic. of Relig. 27. of Bapt.

Secondly, It is usual in Sacramental speech, to understand the cause by the name of the effect, (and contrarily) by a Metonymie; as, 'This *Cup* is the New- 'Testament:

2.

Matth. 27.

Gen. 17. 'Teſtament: Circumciſion is the Covenant: This bread 'is my body. So here, *ſpiritual Regeneration* is *Baptiſm*, in the meaning of the *Prayer*, by a Metonymie of the effect for the cauſe, becauſe Baptiſm is the inſtrumental cauſe of Regeneration. So that the meaning is but this: That the child may, by *Baptiſm* (called ſpiritual Tit. 3. Regeneration, as the Apoſtle calls it the *Laver of Regeneration*) receive forgiveneſs of ſins, as in Scripture that benefit is properly affixed, *firſt* unto Baptiſm; as: Act. 2. 'Be ye baptized for the remiſſion of ſins. And, Ariſe 'and be baptiſed, and waſh away thy ſins. And, They Matth. 3. 'were baptized, confeſſing their ſins; that is, in order to their waſhing away by Baptiſm. But this derogates nothing from the *blood of Chriſt*, by vertue whereof (as being the ordinance and inſtrument of its application) Baptiſm or ſpiritual Regeneration, doth produce remiſſion of ſins. As for that reproach the Brethren caſt upon this expreſſion, as if it were *mans falſhood*, rather than *Gods truth*; it ſavours of an affectation, rather not to looſe ſomewhat an elegant expreſſion, than to receive the *truth* in the love of it, ſo pertinently held forth in that expreſſion. Now for cloſe, let us hear two witneſſes onely to the former Doctrine: *viz.* That we receive remiſſion of ſins by ſpiritual regeneration, whether taking it for *Baptiſm*, or for the *new birth*; and that, whether taken *relatively*, and as by this Sacrament we are born to God, and become his children fœderally, and by way of Covenant; or taken *really*, and as it communicates the ſap and *ſpirit* of the body and *Vine* unto us. Firſt, one recent, *Calvine* namely, who defining Inſtit. l. 4. c. 15. § 1. Baptiſm, ſaith: *Baptiſmus ſignum eſt initiationis, quo in eccleſiæ cooptamur ſocietatem, ut Chriſto inſiti, inter filios Dei cenſeamur.* 'Baptiſm is the ſign of our en-'trance, vvhereby vve are received into the ſociety 'of the Church, that being *grafted* into Chriſt, we 'might be accounted among the children of God. And elſevvhere: *Salutis ſymbolum ac pignus dedit (Deus) in* In Tit. 3. 5. *Baptiſmo, nos in ſuam Eccleſiam cooptans, & inſerens in*

corpus

corpus filii sui. Quare Baptismus congruenter & verè *lavacrum regenerationis dicitur.* 'And that therefore, Bapt. 'is *properly and truly* called the laver of Regeneration. Thus he. Now although he make the first *particular* benefit in Baptism to be remission of sins, and afterward the grace of the holy Ghost; Yet seeing he makes our *new birth* to be effected in Baptism, and that it is *properly* therefore & truly called the *Laver of Regeneration*, and that therein we are first ingraffed into Christs Body, and made the children of God; it follows thence, that we receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration. The other is Antient, to wit *Austin*, who doth in *terminis* expres's the same which the *Church* hath done in that Prayer. *Lex quippe ista peccati; quæ in membris est corporis mortis hujus, & remissa est* regeneratione spiritali, *& manet in carne mortali: Remissa scilicet, quia reatus solutus est in* Sacramento, *quo* renascuntur *fideles.* 'For this law 'of sin (saith he) which is in the members of this body 'of death, both is remitted *by spiritual regeneration*, and 'also remains in the flesh that is mortal. It is remitted 'because the guilt of it is discharged in the Sacrament, 'whereby the faithfull are *regenerated.* And afterward: *Justificatio porro in hac vitâ, nobis secundum tria ista confertur. Prius lavacro regenerationis, quo remittuntur cuncta peccata; deinde congressione cum vitiis, à quorum reatu absoluti sumus; tertio dum nostra exauditur oratio, qua dicimus: dimitte nobis debita nostra.* 'Our justifica- 'tion in this life (saith he) is conferred upon us by these 'three things: First, by the laver of *Regeneration, where-* 'by are all our sins forgiven. Next, by our conflicting 'with sins (he takes the word Justification here largely, 'as comprehending the work of Grace also) from the 'guilt of which, we are absolved. Thirdly, When our Prayer is heard, wherein we ask, '*Forgive us our debts*, &c. The Church therefore in that Prayer hath spoken both according unto truth and to Antiquity. I dismiss that point. Come we to the next, which is their Exception against the *Catechism* touching the *Sacraments*;

Inst. l. 4. c. 15. §. 5.

Aug. contra Julian, l. 2. c. 3.

Cap. 8.

Justification how conferr'd.

1.

2.

3.

which

11 Exception. Page 30.

which was contrary, say they, to the Statute of 1 *Eliz.* 2. added in King *James* time. Touching Additions hath been answered above. But further, that act did not prohibite the King from adding any thing for explanation, which another Act, as we saw, gives power to do, so it be not *contrary to any thing in the Book established.* But this might perhaps be a caution to his present *Majesty*, lest his indulgence in remitting of that Law, by his late *Gracious Declaration*, be as well interpreted a violation of it, for there is no act for that, whereas for his Grandfathers explaining, there was one. Next, in this Paragraph is an Exception, against the Answer to the Question in the Catechism, How *many Sacraments* hath *Christ ordained* in his Church? *Answ.* Two *onely* as *generally* necessary to salvation. 'For it may, say they, without racking, be 'interpreted as a tacite admission of more, as, *Marriage*, *holy Orders*, *&c.* The Apostle giving rules of speech unto *Titus*, warns him that it be *sound*, and such as cannot be condemned by the contrary part. This rule therefore was here observed by the Composers of this Answer. For they knew, that the word *Sacrament* in a large sense, was applicable to many sacred things not onely instituted in Scripture, but also in the practice of the Church. Accordingly *Austin* in one of the places above cited saith: *Noveris diem natalem domini, non in Sacramento celebrari —— Agimus pascha —— ad Sacramenti significationem.* Thou must know that the day of Christs *birth*, is not celebrated as a *Sacrament*. But we celebrate *Easter* under a *sacramental* signification. Where he takes the word *Sacrament* to signifie, the *mystical* things wrought and pointed at in Christs resurrection. Therefore to avoid contention with froward spirits, the expression in the Catechism is so uttered, that there is no occasion given, and yet the *Doctrine secured*; forasmuch as all Sacraments *properly* so called, are *generally necessary* to salvation.

The Brethren caution the King.

Except. touching the Sacrament.

Answ. Tit. 2. 8.

Januar. Epist. 119 *cap* 1.

Their next Exception is, That whereas in the same Catechism it is demanded why children are baptized, when 'by reason of their tender age they cannot perform the

'Conditions

'Conditions required in Baptiſm, *viz.* Repentance and Faith? It is answered, Yes, they do perform them by their Sureties; 'who promiſe and vow them *both* in their 'names; which when they come to age, themſelves are 'bound to perform. This the Brethren ſay, is a *meer tale*. (We muſt not be offended, if the *Leopard* cannot change his *ſpots*, nor the Brethren their *Black more* language.) They add, for proof, 'That it was never read nor heard 'of in Scripture, that one man either repented, or be-'lieved in the room and name of another, whereby that 'other did receive all or any of the ſpiritual benefits ex-'hibited and ſealed in either of the Sacraments. And 'tis 'not a vowing by one, that another ſhall repent and be-'lieve, when he is not at preſent able to do either, that 'can truly be ſaid to be a performing of them: Thus the Brethren. Wherein there is a double miſtake; firſt, of the meaning of the Anſwer in the Catechiſm, and then in the matter of their Reply. Touching the firſt. The diſtinction in the Catechiſm, *viz.* 'that there is an outward 'and *viſible ſign* (which comprehends both the Element, 'and the Form and Action of baptizing) and an inward 'and ſpiritual Grace. (Or, there is *Sacramentum*, as the Schools ſpeak) the outward and viſible part; and there is, *res Sacramenti*; that which is inward and ſpiritual,) this helps us to an Anſwer; for accordingly it may be ſaid, of *Repentance* and *Faith*, required to this Sacrament. There is the inward Repentance and Faith, or the *res ipſa*; and there is the outward *repentance* and Faith, that is the *profeſſion* of them. Now as to the partaking of the *inward grace*, (viz. *Chriſt* and his benefits) there is required the *inward* graces of *repentance* and *faith*; ſo for the *outward* part of it, the viſible ſign, it is ſufficient that there be the *profeſſion* of theſe *outward*. Which yet, by a Metonymy and figure, of the *adjunct* or ſign for the thing ſignified, may very truly (though figuratively) be called Repentance and Faith. Now this being all that *outward Baptiſm* doth require, (the *outward repentance and faith*, or the profeſſion of them) this may be per-

Except. 2. Jer. 13.

Anſw. 1.

formed by others in the name of the baptized. The inward (ſo far as qualifies them for the Sacrament) they have after the ſame manner as they have their ſin or guilt) that is, by others. And as the children of the Jews repented and believed in their parents. For Circumciſion was a Seal of the righteouſneſs of Faith: and therefore not to be adminiſtred to any but thoſe that did repent and believe, in Gods acceptation. Of which more in the next Anſwer. Come we to their ſecond miſtake, *viz.* in the matter of their Reply; and that theſe things of which mention is made, may in this or the like caſes, be performed by the Sureties for the children, ſhall be ſhewn from *Scripture* (God aſſiſting) from *Antiquity*, and from *later times*. Firſt, We muſt here lay for ground that of the Apoſtle, *viz.* 'That the old Church of the *Jews*, they 'did *all* eat the ſame ſpiritual meat, and did *all* drink of 'the ſame ſpiritual drink, for they drank of the ſpiritual 'Rock that followed them, and that Rock was *Chriſt*; 'and they were all *baptized* with the ſame Baptiſm that 'we are, though by the hand of *Moſes* in the cloud and in 'the ſea. *Hoc poſito*, I ſay, if the repenting and believing 'of one man for another were not ſufficient, whereby that 'other did receive all the ſpiritual benefit exhibited and 'ſealed in the Sacrament; how comes it that *Abraham*'s converſion and faith availed for *Iſhmael*; and the faith of his *growen ſervants*, for their children who were circumciſed, which was a Seal of the righteouſneſs of faith (for I take the Brethren not to be Anabaptiſts profeſſed, ſo as to deny that Scripture, to define the nature of Circumciſion in general.) And how could the children of a *Proſelyte* be circumciſed, if the repentance and faith of one man be not accepted for another? As alſo we take it, and ſo do all but *Anabaptiſts*, that there were children baptized in thoſe houſholds that are mentioned to be baptized in the new Teſtament. And *all the children of the Jews* were in the cloud and in the ſea (how that was done Mr. *Aynſworth*, as I remember, ſomewhere ſhews, by comparing *Pſalm* 77. 17. *the clouds poured* out water, with

Rom. 4. 11.

Anſw. 2.

1. From Scripture.

1 Cor. 10. 1. &c.

Gen. 17.

Rom. 4.

2.

1 Cor. 10.

with this of the *Corinths.*) Now this could not be, but that the Repentance and Faith of one is available for another. If it be answered, that these were *the parents* of the children. I reply, that the *Sureties* are but onely the *Churches* and the Parents *assistants*; and do undertake onely upon the supposition of the childs *actual right* as a *virtual believer*, to be of the household of Faith, though not *actually* incorporated. So that the undertaking of the *Sureties*, is onely by way of deputation from the Church or Parents, and goes upon supposition of their repentance and faith, by vertue whereof (according to the Covenant, 'That God will be the God of his People and 'their seed after them) the Infant hath title to the Ordinance. So that it is so far untrue, that it is never read or heard of in Scripture, that one man repented and believed in the room and name of another, that it is *ever* so, and *never read nor heard* in Scripture to the contrary. Come we to *Antiquity*. *Quâ in re, satis piè rectéque creditur, prodesse parvulo eorum fidem, à quibus consecrandus offertur. Et hoc Ecclesiæ commendat saluberrima authoritas, ut ex eo quisque sentiat quid sibi prosit fides sua, quando in aliorum quoque beneficium, qui propriam nondum habent, potest aliena commodari.* 'In which point (saith 'Austin) we do rightly and religiously believe, that the *faith of those*, by whom a child is offered to Baptism, 'doth avail *for the child*. And this commends the Sove- 'raign Authority of the Church; that from hence every 'one may perceive, what his own faith doth profit him, 'seeing *another mans faith* can be usefull for the benefit of 'him, that hath none as yet of his own (he means actual.) Thus there. And elsewhere: *Quando ad baptismum offeruntur* (Infantes) *parentes tanquam fidedictores respondent, & dicunt* illos *facere, quod illa ætas cogitare non potest, aut si potest, occultum est. Interrogamus enim eos à quibus offeruntur, & dicimus, credit in Deum?* —— *Respondent credit. Et ad cætera sic respondent quæ quæruntur.* 'When (saith he) they (the Infants) are offered to Bap- 'tism, the parents, as Undertakers for them, answer and say,

Instance.

Answ.

Gen. 17.

2. Proof from Antiquity.

Aug. de lib. Arbit. l. 3. c. 23.

Epist. 23. Bonifac.

'say, that they do that, which at that age they cannot 'think; and if they do, 'tis unknown: for we ask those 'by whom they are offered, and say: Doth he believe 'in God? They answer, He believeth; and so to the rest 'of the Questions they answer what is asked. Which testimony of St. *Austin*, declares the *antiquity* of this custom of *Interrogatories* in Baptism. The answer he gives there, unto the question made thereupon; *viz.* How could they undertake for them so; namely, that they do believe, by vertue of the Sacrament of Baptism which they receive, which is the Sacrament of Faith? he doth in the former part of the same Epistle more fully open; *Regenerans spiritus in majoribus offerentibus & parvulo oblato renatoque* communis est; *ideo per hanc societatem unius ejusdemque spiritus, prodest offerentium voluntas parvulo oblato.* 'The regenerating Spirit (saith he) in 'those that offer the child to Baptism, and in the child 'offered and regenerate, is *one and the same*; and thence 'by this fellowship in one and the same Spirit, the will 'of those that offer it, doth profit the child. And in answer to that which the Brethren touch, that the witnesses are not always truly believers, he saith: *Spiritus autem ille sanctus, qui habitat in sanctis, ex quibus una illa columba decorgentata charitatis igne conflatur, agit quod agit etiam per servitutem, aliquando non solum simpliciter ignorantium, verum etiam damnabiliter indignorum. Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendum spiritalem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus—— quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium. Ab omnibus namque recte offerri intelliguntur, quibus placet quòd offeruntur, & quorum sancta & individua charitate ad communicationem sancti Spiritus adjuvantur. Tota hoc ergo mater Ecclesia quæ in sanctis est, facit: quia tota omnes, tota singulos parit.* 'Now that 'holy Spirit which dwells in the Saints, (of which 'Saints, the Dove that is covered with silver wings is 'founded by the fire of love) doth that which it doth, 'by the ministery and service, not onely of those who 'are

Questions in Baptism.

Ib.d. Unbelieving Witnesses.

'are ſimply ignorant, but of thoſe who are *damnably* 'wicked. For children are offered to Baptiſm, and re-'ceiving of ſpiritual grace; not ſo much by *them*, in 'whoſe hands they are carried, as by the *whole ſociety* of 'Saints and Believers. For it is truly underſtood to be 'done by all, who are all deſirous that it ſhould be done; 'and by whoſe holy and undivided charity, the children 'are helped to the participation of the holy Spirit. The '*whole* Church therefore which conſiſts of the Saints, 'doth it, becauſe ſhe *wholly* hath brought forth all and '*every* one. Thus far he. And again in other places more plainly, though more briefly, as in that vulgar one: *Credunt & infantes. Unde credunt? quomodo credunt? fide parentum. Si fide parentum purgantur, peccato parentum polluti ſunt. Corpus mortis in primis parentibus generavit eos peccatores: Spiritus vita in poſterioribus parentibus regeneravit eos fideles. Tu das fidem non reſpondenti, & ego peccatum nihil agenti.* 'Even 'Infants (ſaith he) believe. Whence do they be-'lieve? how do they believe? Why, by the faith of the 'Parents. If they be purged by the faith of the Parents, 'they are polluted by the ſin of their parents. The body 'of death in the firſt parents, did generate them ſinners. 'The ſpirit of life in the following parents, hath regene-'rated them faithful and believers. Thou giveſt faith 'to him that anſwereth not, and I communicate ſin to 'him that acteth not. Thus St. *Auſtin*. Wherein we ſee, that *the repentance and faith of one, is available for another*, to the obtaining ſpiritual benefits for them, *viz.* the faith of the *parents*; and if they fail, the faith of the *Church*, and the faith of the *Sureties*, who are al-ways the deputies of one or both the other. And that they do perform by them repentance and faith, that is, the *profeſſion* of them. I ſhall add now one or two witneſſes, of later times, as I promiſed, and cloſe this point alſo. *Calvin*, with all the Conſiſtory of *Geneva*, in the Letter above cited, makes the faith of the parents, or, in caſe they fail, the *faith* of the *Church*, where

Aug. de verb. Apoſt. Serm. 14. *cap.* 19.

3. Proof from recent times.

where the child is born, to be available, for its obtaining the priviledge of Baptiſm, and the ſpiritual benefits that come thereby. *Promiſſio* [*Ero Deus tui & ſeminis tui*] *non ſobolem tantum cujuſq; fidelium in primo gradu comprehendit, ſed in mille generationes extenditur —— unde —— ubicunq; non prorſus intercidit, vel extincta fuit Chriſtianiſmi profeſſio, fraudantur jure ſuo infantes, ſi a communi ſymbolo arcentur.* 'The promiſe [I will be 'thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee] ſaith he, 'doth comprehend the ſeed of the faithful, not in the 'firſt degree onely, but to a thouſand generations. And 'therefore whereſoever the profeſſion of the Name of 'Chriſt is not wholly fallen and extinct, there, children 'are defrauded of their right, if they be driven from the 'common obſignation and ſeal of it. Where we ſee, that the repentance and faith of *others, beſides the parents*, is available; and the undertaking of the *Sureties*, doth not give the *right*, but onely for *orders* ſake and the farther *engagement* of the children when they come to years, is ſuperadded thereunto; as being continued from the cuſtom firſt taken up, with men that were grown before their Baptiſm. Continued, I ſay, both for the more ſolemnity of that Ordinance, and for the uſe of the thing it ſelf; both as it doth repreſent to the *grown* the obligation of their Baptiſm, and as it is an engagement upon the Infants, when they come to years. I end with the practiſe of it in the reformed Church of *Colen*, as it is in the Liturgy compoſed, as was ſaid above, by *Melanchon*, *Bucer*, and *Piſtorius*. In the form of *Baptiſm*, the title is, *Interrogationes ad ſuſceptores & parentes*. 'The Queſtions to the *ſureties* and the *parents*, (that we may ſee, the ſureties promiſed in the name of the Infant.) *Renunciatis igitur veſtro &* Infantis *nomine diabolo atque omnibus ejus operibus? Reſpond. Renunciamus. Q. Etiam mundo & concupiſcentiis ejus? Reſp. Renunciamus. Q. Creditis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem Creatorem cœli & terræ? Reſp. Credimus, &c.* 'Do you 'therefore in your own and in the *INFANTS* name, renounce

Calv. ep. Knox. Ann. 1559. ep. 285.

Uſe of anſwers in Baptiſm.

Lib. Reform. Colen. in Bapt.

'renounce the devil and all his works? *Anſw.* We re-
'nounce them. *Q.* Alſo the world and the luſts of it?
'*Anſw.* We renounce them. *Q.* Do you believe in God
'the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?
'*Anſw.* We believe. Where you ſee, the word; in their own and the *Infants* name, being placed firſt, runs through all the Anſwers, both touching *repentance* expreſſed by *renouncing*, and alſo *faith* expreſſed by *believing*. And to clear it further in the ſame Liturgy, in the form of Confirmation, in the Queſtions propounded to the children to be confirmed, this is one: *Interrogatio. Ergo placet tibi, ratumque habes, & adjutus ſpiritu domini in eo perſeverabis, quod tui* ſuſceptores nomine tuo *ad ſacramentum Baptiſmæ promiſerunt & profeſſi ſunt, cum* pro te *renunciarunt Satanæ, & mundo, & addixerunt te Chriſto & Eccleſiæ ejus in ſolidam evangelii obedientiam? Reſp. Hæc rata habeo, & in eis juvante me domino n. Jeſu Chriſto, permanebo uſque ad finem.* That is: *Queſtion.* Does it therefore pleaſe thee, and 'and doſt thou account firm and good, and by the help 'of the Spirit of the Lord, wilt thou perſevere in that, 'which thy *Sureties* (Godfathers and Godmothers) 'did promiſe and profeſs *in thy name*, at the Sacrament 'of Baptiſm, when they did *in thy ſtead*, renounce the 'devil and the world, and did conſecrate thee to *Chriſt* 'and his Church unto ſerious obedience? *Anſw.* Theſe 'I confirm as good and binding of me, and by the help 'of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt I will continue in them unto 'the end. The doctrine therefore of that Anſwer in the Catechiſm of our Liturgy, is neither new nor ſtrange; but grounded on *Scripture*, and ſeconded by *Antiquity* and the practiſe of the *Reformed*. I might alſo for more plainneſs-ſake confirm it, by *proportion* with civil contracts. Wherein the undertaking of another is available for one that cannot anſwer for himſelf. As when an eſtate doth deſcend upon a child, with ſuch and ſuch conditions, without which it cannot enjoy it; it being preſumed, that what is for its good, it will conſent unto.

Ibid. in confirm. fol. 80. p. 2.

4. Proof from civil Contracts.

By

By vertue of anothers undertaking for it, the child obtains the eſtate. So in this very point, King *James* ſaith; 'That Interrogatories were propounded unto him, 'when he was crowned in his Infancy; which without 'undertaking of ſome other could not be done, and with-'out which anſwers, his Majeſty could not orderly 'have been *Crowned*. But enough of this point.

Conf. Hamp. Court, p. 65.

Except. 12. The Commination, p. 31.

Deut. 27.

Come we now at length unto the laſt Exception againſt the *matter* of the *Liturgy*: *viz.* The *Commination* or 'recitation of certain *Curſes* againſt *impenitent* ſinners, 'to be uſed divers times in the year out of the Pulpit; 'to which curſes, being recited out of the Scripture, the 'people are enjoyned, after the example of the Church 'of the *Jews*, to ſay *Amen*. Which Diſcipline is to be 'uſed, till that antient one of the primitive Church, of 'putting notorious ſinners to open pennance at the be-'ginning of *Lent*, might be reſtored. Againſt this *godly* order, the Brethren ſend forth their **Gyants* to bid battel to heaven; or as *Goliah*, to *defie the Church of God*: and they cloathe him and arm him accordingly. The *body* of their Champion conſiſts of theſe members: *Imprimis*, 'That it is not warrantable in the worſhip of 'God, That Miniſters openly denounce curſes upon all 'ſinners. *Item*, That it is done out of the Pulpit. *Item*, That 'it is to be done divers times in the year. *Item*, That the 'people muſt ſay *Amen* to the curſes. The *garb* and 'cloathing is like his, for ſcorn and contumely; *viz.* A 'piece of *inhumane and unchriſtian like devotion*, they ſay: 'And, *A latter ſpawn of Antichriſt* in his *Popiſh* ſervices. 'The *Arms* of theſe *Titans*; the *Head-piece* is, That it 'hath no warrant in the Word of God, nor in the practiſe 'of Antiquity confeſſed. The *Breaſtplate*, That it is 'againſt the nature of the Miniſtery, the *Tribe* of *Levi* 'being excluded from that ſervice, and it being put upon 'others. The *Sword*, That it is ſpecially againſt the na-ture of the *Goſpel*-Miniſtery, who are to bring glad tidings 'of good things to the people. Laſtly, the *Shield*, That 'this example in *Deuteronomy* is peculiar to the *Jews*, to 'be

* *Poteſt etiam accommodari (fabula de Gigantibus) ad hoſtes Eccleſiæ q. aut falſa doctrina, aut vi conantur labefactare veram religionem.* *Sabin. in Metamorph. l. 1. Fab. 5.*

'be done but once, and that neither in publick worſhip, 'nor in the place of it, but on Mount *Ebal*. One leſs 'piece, the *Neck*-one, if you will; The people muſt 'not *curſe* themſelves. To begin with the *habit*, the vile and contumelious language, wherewith theſe

Conjurati cœlum reſcindere fratres, — *Geo. l. 1.*

Brethren that *conſpired* are
With * *Heaven* it ſelf to wage a War. — * *Per cœlum* Eccleſia, *figura*ri ſolet. *Interp.* in *Apoc.*

have cloth'd it.

The Philoſopher reports of a certain wild Beaſt named *Bonnaſus*, that being purſued, makes its beſt defence by caſting forth its *excrement*, and therewith beraying it ſelf and adverſary. And men do not love to talk with thoſe who have a *ſtinking* breath. But if the *matter* of this Commination be good, and *uſe* profitable; it ſmells of the *ſpawn of the Serpent*, to aſcribe it to the ſpawn of Antichriſt. Come we to their Arms, *Headpiece* firſt the warrant of the *Word*. 'Whatſoever is written, is written 'for our learning, (and if not reſtrained by ſome ſpecial caution, for our *imitation* alſo) ſaith the Apoſtle. Now the preſcribed curſing, was no *type* of Chriſt, or neceſſarily confined to that People; no more than the threatning annexed to the *Ten Commandements*, (whereof thoſe curſes are onely an explication) ſpoken indeed at firſt to the *Jews* onely, but with reference unto all men, ſo theſe interminations alſo. If any Church or Nation ſhall find among the ſeveral Laws of *Moſes*, any one that they may judge uſeful for themſelves, and the improving whereof doth not oblige to that politie, or tend to the darkning of the Goſpel; will thoſe be againſt it, that ſometimes urge *all things* to be done according to the *letter* of the Scripture? God ſometimes ſent his people to learn of the *Heathen*, yea, of the very *beaſts*. Theſe Brethren damn the Church of *Antichriſtian ſpawn*, for taking inſtruction out of the *Word of God*, in a thing

Ariſt. d. part. Anim. l. 3. c. 2.

1. *Head-piece. Anſw.* Rom. 15. Form of Curſing.

Jer. 2. 11.

Iſa. 1. 3.

whoſe *matter* they cannot condemn, and of whoſe *uſe* the Church hath had experience. To the *Breſtplate*,

2. *Breaſt-plate.*

'That it is againſt the nature of the *Miniſtery*, whoſe

Numb. 6.23.

'work is to *bleſs*; and therefore the Tribe of *Levi* were

Anſw.

'ſet among the Tribes that bleſſed upon Mount *Ge-*'*rizim*. Why then was *Moſes*, a *Levite*, ſo much for-

Levit. 26.

getful of his Office, who *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. be-

Deut. 28.

ſides many other places, doth ſpend whole Chapters al-

1.

moſt, and they long ones, in curſing ſuch perſons, as ſhould go on ſtill in their wickedneſs; or to terrifie them, that they might be reclaimed? And what are ve-

2.

ry many, if not moſt of the Sermons of the Prophets, yea, no ſmall number of the moſt comfortable part of the Old Teſtament, the *Pſalms*, but denunciations of curſes upon them: 'In the houſe, and in the field; when

Deut. 28.

'they roſe up, and when they ſhould come in; upon 'them, and the fruit of their bodies, on the fruit of their 'beaſts, on the fruit of their labours, and upon all that 'they ſhould put their hand unto? This ſhews how *ſeriouſly the Brethren have conſulted antiquity*, the moſt antient of all, the *Archives of Almighty God*, the *Scriptures*. But the next will ſhew it more. For whereas they

Inſt.

ſay, (which is indeed worth the noting) 'Let it be *ob-*

Anſw.

'*ſerved*, that *Levi* was none of them that were appoint-'ed to curſe, nor were they *of that Tribe ſo much as* '*among them*. Wherein they plainly ſhew, that they

1 Tim. 1.

do *ad amuſſim*, make good that of the Apoſtle, *viz.* 'They will needs be teachers of the *Law*, and *know not* 'what they ſay, nor whereof they affirm. For it is ex-

Deut. 27. 14.

preſly ſaid in the place they quote: 'And the *LE-*'*VITES* ſhall ſpeak and ſay with a loud voice, to all 'the men of *Iſrael*, *Curſed be the man*, *&c.* All others are excluded from it, and this ſervice is put upon the *Levites onely*, although their *Tribe* was on the bleſſing-

2.

ſide. Neither may we think that theſe Tribes, whom God ſet to curſe, were ever a whit the farther from the bleſſing. So that either they did not at all, much leſs *ſeriouſly*, conſult this piece of *Antiquity*; or elſe like men

men in haſte, they forgot their errand; or like the *Cardinal*, who being to prove, that *Saints* and *Angels* are to be prayed unto; brings that place where the Angel 'forbad *John*, and ſaid, *See thou do it not*. So this place, alledged by the Brethren, makes *directly* againſt them. So true is that long ſince foretold of ſuch perſons: 'Their own tongues ſhall make them to fall, inſomuch 'that whoſo ſeeth them ſhall laugh them to ſcorn. Neither is their *ſword*, that of the Spirit; as if to curſe, or rather to recite and *read* them out of the Word of God, were diſſonant from the miniſtery of the Goſpel. Why read they then (though they read but little in the publick) thoſe and ſuch like Chapters out of the Bible. Beſides, did not our Saviour curſe? 'Woe, woe, woe unto you, 'Scribes and Phariſees; which he having named once, repeats *ſeven times* in the ſame Sermon. Unleſs woe be leſs then curſing. And did not he teach his Diſciples to do ſo, when he charged them to ſhake off the very duſt from their feet, as a teſtimony againſt them that would not receive them. And doth not the Apoſtle ſay, that the Miniſters of the Goſpel are as well the ſavour of *death unto death*, as of life unto life? And did he not curſe when he ſaid to *Elymas*, *Thou child of the devil*? and to the *High-prieſt*, *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited wall*? And of the falſe Apoſtles, that their *end ſhould be according to their work*; and wiſhed that the Schiſmatical Teachers among the *Galatians were cut off*? Let them ſeriouſly conſult the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*, and that of *Jude*. But ſecondly, to this Head. The Miniſter doth not any thing more in this than in reading the *Ten Commandements*, where 'tis ſaid; *The Lord will not hold him guiltleſs, &c.* What is this but a curſe, *expreſs*? And, *That thy days may be long in the land*; which contains a curſe *implicite*. The old *Divines*, they were wont to teach, that *Moſes* and *John Baptiſt* made way for *Chriſt*, the *Law* for the *Goſpel*, *Repentance* for *Faith*; as the needle for the thread. But the Brethren know how to ſow more eaſie *pillows under all*

Bellarm. de ſanct. Beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 14. Tom. 2. *Apoc. 22. 9.*

Pſal. 64. 8. after the Old Tranſlation;

3. *Sword.*

Matth. 23.

Matth. 10.

2 Cor. 2. 16.

Act. 13. 11. chap. 23. 3.

2 Cor. 11.

Gal. 4.

2.

Old method of Preaching.

Ezek. 13. 18.

Mar. 1. 15. Act. 20. 21. *elbows*, as the Prophet ſpeaks. Chriſt himſelf, and ſo *Paul*, did preach *repentance* before *believing* of the Goſpel, and repreſented the *Curſe*, that they might flee to the *Bleſſing*. But let us try what metall their *Shield* is of, whereby they would defend themſelves: *viz.*

4. The Shield. 'That was a ſervice of the children of *Iſrael*, done but 'once, and that not in the publick worſhip, nor the

Anſw. 1. place of it. That no uſeful thing to others, though firſt

2. appointed to the *Jews*, was peculiar unto them, hath been ſhewn above. That this was but once, ſo done formally, with that great ſolemnity of all the Tribes together, the whole *Nation* aſſembled, is granted; yet it might be done by them more commonly in a leſs troubleſom way, and was in effect, by the Prophets afterward. And that this was not done, as before, though not with ſo great a

3. multitude, is not proved. Neither if it were, doth it follow, that what was once commanded, and is ever of good uſe in its ſeaſon, is therefore forbidden for ever,

4. becauſe commanded but once. That it was not done in publick worſhip is untrue, for it was the moſt ſolemn and publick almoſt of any other: They ſhould ſay, it was not done in the ordinary worſhip, and why? becauſe it

5. was an extraordinary ſervice. Which is an anſwer unto that, It was not done in the place of publick worſhip: that is, the *ordinary* place, it being not capable of it. But as Mount *Horeb* was the place of worſhip at the delivery of the *Law*; ſo *Ebal* and *Gerizim* at this ſolemn *ſanction* of it, by the Bleſſing and the Curſe. To the laſt

People neceſſitated to curſe themſelves. piece, The people are hereby *neceſſitated to curſe themſelves*. Why do not the Brethren enter an action at, (their profeſſion) the *Law* for this, againſt *God Almighty*; who did in this Service, ſo appoint his own people

Anſw. Numb. 5. 19. Exod. 22. 11. to *curſe themſelves*; as alſo in the ſuſpected *woman*, if guilty; and any man that had *concealed* a thing of truſt committed to him. The end of which Ordinance

2. then, and of this inſtitution of the Church now, is moſt ſoveraign; to the intent, *viz.* 'That you (ſaith the *Com-* '*mination*) being admoniſhed of the great indignation

'of

'of God againſt ſinners; may the rather be called to 'earneſt and true repentance, and may walk more warily 'in theſe dangerous days; fleeing from ſuch vices, for 'the which, ye affirm with your own mouthes, the curſe 'of God to be due. But this ground, that men muſt not curſe themſelves, overthrows all civil *Oathes*, for, or before the Magiſtrate, leſt they ſhould curſe themſelves. For what is an *Oath*, *but an invocation of God, to witneſs upon our ſoul that we lie not*, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) *with an adjuration and curſing of our ſelves, if we lie?* We may hence perhaps ſee, why ſome of late have been alſo backward to ſwear either *Allegiance* or *Supremacy*, becauſe 'tis to be feared, ſome of them were true to neither. For their cloſe of Exceptions to the *body* of the Book, where they ſay: 'That more might be 'ſaid of ſundry other particulars in the Service-book. It is replyed above, that more for number, and weightier for ſubſtance, have been long ſince urged by others; and received by godly and learned * men, their *full* anſwer. To which, in the like ſcruples, it were good that men would betake themſelves. * One of whom, after ſolemn hearing of all that the Brethrens more *modeſt* Predeceſſors could object, Thus concluded: Alleadging from *Bartolus de Regno*, 'That as better a *King* 'with ſome weakneſs, than ſtill a change; ſo rather a '*Church* (and I add, a *Liturgy*) with ſome faults, (if ſuch 'they were as the Brethren note) then an innovation. 'And ſurely (ſaith he) if theſe be the greateſt matters 'you be grieved with, I need not have been troubled 'with ſuch importunities and complaints, as have been 'made unto me; ſome other more *private* courſe might 'have been taken for your ſatisfaction. And ſurely it would make any man, as it did him, *ſhake his head and ſmile*. And thus far of the matter of the Liturgy, as to the ſubſtance of Worſhip.

The uſe of it.

3.

2 Cor. 1. An Oath.

Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Object.

Anſw.

* *R. Hooker.* The Diſputants at the Conf. Hamp. Court, and others.

* K. *James*, pag. 47. of that Conference.

Note.

SECT.

Sect. VI.

Exceptions againſt the Ceremonies.

THe Appendixes follow, and they are *Ceremonies*; where their Exceptions againſt them may be reduced unto two heads. Firſt, againſt the Impoſition of Ceremonies in general. Secondly, againſt theſe in particular. Touching the firſt, they ſay, That *Ceremonies* being things *indifferent*, can by no command of Authority become *neceſſary*, eſpecially if they offend tender conſciences. For *proof* whereof they alledge the Apoſtles doctrine, & practiſe. To the *Aſſertion* firſt, which is no leſs inconſiderately uttered, than confidently affirmed, if generally taken. For ſo, it overthrows Civil *bounds*, National *Laws*, Divine and Eccleſiaſtical *Inſtitutions*. It overthrows *Civil* bounds. Might not the Brethrens Neighbour ſay unto them: Sirs, your Garden, your Orchard, 'your Cloſe, your Land, were once *indifferent* and *com-* 'mon to all men; it is not the Authority of any Man 'or Law, that can make that proper to you, and ne- 'ceſſarily to belong to you, which Providence at the 'Creation left common and indifferent for all men. On ſuch a diſcourſe as this the *Levellers* go. And my ſelf knew a man, that would therefore pay no rent to his Landlord, ſaying; Why ſhould not he have a houſe as well as he. Smile not, Brethren, for the parallel fully holds; all *Tenures* were at firſt indifferent and common. Secondly, It deſtroys *National Laws*, for 'tis in it ſelf indifferent, whether, for example, *theft* ſhall be puniſhed by reſtitution or impriſonment, or ſcourging or death. Now when the Law of any Nation hath appointed ſuch a puniſhment, neceſſarily to be inflicted upon ſuch a Malefactor, he may upon this ground ſay: 'The kind of puniſhment is indifferent, and no Law of 'man can make that neceſſary without injuſtice. It everteth

Of Ceremonies in general. pag. 38. pag. 37.

Abſurdities of the Brethrens Aſſert. 1. 2.

everteth also even divine Ordinances. 'The *Water* in Baptism, the *Bread* and *Wine* in the Lords Supper, are before separation indifferent and common: Therefore they cannot in *particular* by this principle, be made necessary and obliging to be used. Lastly, (because they intend Ceremonies in Religion) it takes away the ground of *Ecclesiastical* Institutions, whose *object* is especially things in their own nature *indifferent*, as *times*, *place*, *persons*, *gestures*, *habits*, &c. for what obedience can be expected, where no Authority can make it necessary in such things? which leads me to a second Answer, *viz.* That though no Law can alter the *nature* of things in themselves *metaphysically* and abstractedly considered; yet it may and doth alter the obligation of practice about them; that what was free before to do or not, is otherwise now. For example, It was indifferent, whether *Paul* would *sacrifice* or not, but after the *Church* had judged it requisite for him, he thought it his *duty* now to do it. Again, it was indifferent for him to *circumcise* or not to circumcise, yet according to circumstances he did it to *Timothy*, and would not do it to others. To abstain from blood, and from things strangled, I suppose the Brethren count indifferent, because the Apostle saith, '*Every Creature* of God is good, and '*nothing* to be refused; yet the Apostles for that time made it a matter of *necessity*, to abstain from them. Whether a Man pray uncovered, and the Woman covered, might seem indifferent; but the Apostle, besides other Arguments, determines it, by the custom and *practice of the Church*, as a matter necessary, to go that way he propounded. 'As to that clause: Indifferent 'things cannot be made necessary, if they offend tender 'Consciences, and are scandalous to good men. It is answered that, The due performance of the Worship of *God*; And *the general edification* of all Consciences, by directing the reverent performance of their duty; And the satisfaction of the Consciences of the *greater* part of the Church, together with the taking away the *scandal* from profession, (apt to be cast upon it by the *Adversary* for

3.

4.

Answ. 2. *Gen.*

1. Act. 21.

2. Act. 16. Gal. 2. 3, 5.

3. 1 Tim. 4.

Act. 15.

1.

2. When scandal is not to be regarded.

3.

4.

for omitting these Ceremonies; is of more consequence, and ought to be more eyed, by those in Authority, then the satisfying of a few, though good men. *Paul*, no doubt, gave very great offence in sacrificing, in circumcising *Timothy*, in not circumcising *Titus*, and in being stiffe against it: Yet because the more publick and common good of the Church was concerned, his charity directed him to love the *Body*, and tender the welfare of that, rather then of some *particular* Members, though otherwise pretious. This for their *proposition*, next for their *proof* from the Apostles Doctrine and Practice. First, his *Doctrine*. 'All things indeed are pure, but it 'is evil to him that eateth with offence: And, it is good 'neither to eat Flesh, nor drink Wine, whereby thy 'Brother stumbleth or is made weak. To take heed lest 'our liberty become a stumbling-block. But if one will 'use his liberty, and the other will take offence, then his 'charge is, Let not him that eateth, despise him that eat-'eth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that 'eateth. 2. His *practise*. If Meat make my Brother to 'offend, I will eat no Flesh whilest the world standeth, 'lest I make my Brother to offend. But do these things prove, that things indifferent may not by *Authority* be made necessary as to practise? Nothing less. For, the things the Apostle mentioneth, were, as to any publick *Injunction* by Authority then in being, left free, no Law passed on them; And they were observed, according as Conscience in some and Charity in others did direct. But are the Brethren able to shew, out of these, or any other places of the Apostles doctrine or practice; 'That after 'the Church hath declared that, they seek not to be justi-'fied by *Works*, much less *Ceremonies*, but by the *Faith* 'of Jesus Christ; That they own but one *Mediator*, be-'twixt God and Man, even the Man Christ Jesus; That, they having an eye to *decency*, *order*, and *reverence* in the Worship of God, (to which they are *injoyned*) do judge that, such and such Ceremonies, (without opinion of holiness in the things themselves, or of adding any *substance*

Gal. 2. 5.

Their proof. Rom. 14.

See, to the like effect also, the Propositt. touching Reform. of the Liturg. now in the Press.

1 Cor. 8.

Answ.

1.

1.

Gal. 2.

1 Tim. 2.

2.

1 Cor. 14.

to

to the matter of the Worſhip) are uſefull to the better performance of Gods ſervice, and edification of his people, and not in themſelves contrariant thereunto. Are they able to ſhew, that the Apoſtle, becauſe either things are in themſelves indifferent, or becauſe ſome would be offended at them; did in ſuch a caſe either by doctrine or practice incourage unto diſobedience? I trow they are not. To be ſure, the places alleadged prove it not, as hath been ſhewed; they ſpeaking only of ſuch things, as on which no Civil nor Eccleſiaſtical ſanction had paſſed, but were in every mans liberty. And the Apoſtles doctrine and practice, as we heard, prove the contrary; he referring to the *cuſtom of the Church*, as a determination in things of themſelves indifferent; and himſelf alſo practiſing divers things, that without all queſtion did offend many tender Conſciences. Certain it is, that things ſtrangled and blood, were things indifferent, yet commanded as neceſſary for the time, by the Apoſtles, *Act.* 15. So Circumciſion, ſacrificing, &c. practiſed by *Paul*, with offence to ſome. Thus of their general exception. 1 Cor. 11. Act. 21. 16. Gal. 2.

2. Of the Ceremonies in partic.

The next is againſt the Ceremonies of this Church, and of the Common-prayer Book in *particular*. Againſt which they except theſe things: Firſt, that they are not *eſtabliſhed* by Law: Secondly, that they are *ſuperſtitious*: Thirdly, that they are *ſcandalous*: Fourthly, that they have been occaſions of *perſecution*: Fifthly, they are burdenſom for their *number*: And laſtly, even by the conſequence of the Article 34. of the 2. *Homilie* of the time and place of Prayer; by the very *Preface* of the Common-prayer Book it ſelf, and alſo the practice of the *Biſhops*; they ought to be removed. Touching the firſt, that they are not eſtabliſhed, they endeavour to prove firſt generally, in that the Common-prayer Book is not eſtabliſhed; ſecondly, particularly, becauſe of the Book of 2. and 5, 6 *Ed.* 6. and the Act of Uniformity of Common-prayer. Touching the firſt, that they are

In the Anſw. to the ſixth gen. Except.

not eſtabliſhed, becauſe the Common-prayer Book is not eſtabliſhed, hath been anſwered above. Touching the *particular* proof here; the Brethren do prevaricate not unpalpably, and very undutifully traduce Qu. *Eliz.* and the *Parliament* that eſtabliſhed the Book of Common Prayer. For firſt, they ſay, that, *However the* Rubrick before the Book (of Common-prayer) printed in 1 *Eliz.*

P. 34.

Ornaments of ſervice.

directeth to uſe ſuch Ornaments as were in uſe in 2 *Edw. 6.* yet that is no part of the Book of Common-prayer, which the Parliament of 1 *Eliz.* eſtabliſhed; becauſe the Book of 5. 6 *Edw. 6.* hath no ſuch Rubrick (or direction) and that Act of 1 *Eliz.* for Uniformity of Common-prayer, injoyns all things to be done according to the Book of 5, 6 *Edw. 6.* and none other, nor otherwiſe, therefore nothing according to the Book, of 2 *Edw. 6.*

*P. 39.

(which yet * afterward they ſay is good Law:) So that

Anſw. 1.

they make that Parliament very weak and inconſiderate men, and indeed meer *C. Combs* (if that word might be uſed in reference to ſo *awfull* an Aſſembly) that what they appointed in the very entrance of the Book, by Rubr. they would eſtabliſh, they did by the *Act* immediately overthrow. They appoint ſuch Ornaments, in the Book, unto the Miniſter, in Divine Service, as was in uſe by Act of Parliament in the ſecond year of *Ed. 6.* And in the Act they conform the Prayer-book unto that of 5, 6. *Ed. 6.* and none other, or otherwiſe. As if the former were not an Exception, and a *Proviſo* alſo in the Act it

2.

Act for Uniformity, *prope finem.*

ſelf: 'Provided alwayes (ſayes the Act) and be it enacted, that ſuch *Ornaments* of the Church, and of the 'Miniſters thereof, ſhall be received and be in uſe, as 'were in the Church of *England* by the Authority of Par-'liament in the ſecond year of the Reign of King *Edw. 6.*

Note.

'untill other order ſhall be therein taken (note) by the 'Authority of the *Queens Majeſty*, with the advice of 'her Commiſſioners, appointed and authoriſed under 'the Great Seal of *England* for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, or 'of the *Metropolitane* of this Realm. Which latter

clauſe

clauſe of the Act yields a farther Anſwer to the Breth *viz.* that if thoſe *Ornaments* were not otherwiſe eſtabliſhed, either by the *Act* or by the Liturgie, yet by this Act, if they be eſtabliſhed by the Queen and her Commiſſioners, and ſo by the following Princes, it is ſufficient. The like may be ſaid for *Ceremonies*, *Rites* and Orders appointed by the Book. That *Act*, immediately after the former words, ſubjoyning: 'And alſo, 'that if there ſhall happen any contempt, or irreve-'rence to be uſed in the Ceremonies or Rites of the 'Church, by the miſuſing of the Orders appointed in 'this Book; the Queens Majeſty may by the like ad-'vice of the ſaid Commiſſioners or Metropolitane, 'ordain and publiſh ſuch further *Ceremonies* or *Rites*, 'as may be moſt for the advancement of Gods glory, 'the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of 'Chriſts holy Myſteries and Sacraments. So that here 'is eſtabliſhment enough. Next they would prove that the Ceremonies in the Common-prayer Book (for of thoſe they are ſpeaking) are not eſtabliſhed by Law, becauſe the Common-prayer Book of 2 *Edw.* 6. is in ſome things referred to: 'And particularly, as to *Or-'naments* and *Rites*, both by the Rubrick before Com-'mon-prayer in the preſent Liturgy, and by the Statute 'of 1 *Eliz.* 2. So that as to this point, (*viz.* of Ornaments and Rites, which they named, and as to *Ceremonies*, for of thoſe they are ſpeaking, and inſtance in them preſently) ſo much of that Book is ſtill in force by Law. 'But, that Book hath expreſly given a 'liberty in ſome of the things here deſired to be no 'further impoſed, where in the laſt page thereof '(called, Certain *Notes* for the more plain Explication 'and decent Miniſtration of things contained therein) 'it ſaith, *As touching kneeling, croſſing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breaſt, and other geſtures, they may be uſed or left, as every mans devotion ſerveth, without blame.* This (ſay the Brethren) is ſtill

Other Ceremonies.

Q. hath power to ordain Ceremon. Rites and Orders Eccleſiaſtical.

2.

Pag. 38.

good Law, &c. wherein they do as well *falsifie* as *prevaricate*; for neither the Rubrick before the Common-prayer, nor the Act for Uniformity, do name *Ornaments* and *Rites*, as the Brethren recite the words; but *Ornaments only*. Now the word *Rites*, comprehends the Ceremonies also, which are not referred to in this Act; but bounded in the Book it self, and further liberty given to the Queen about them, as we saw above, out of the Act. Again, they prevaricate; for they know, it was far from the meaning of that *Rubrick* they quote in 2 *Ed.* 6. when it names *kneeling*, *crossing*, and other gestures, as things indifferent to be done or left, according to every mans devotion: Far it was from them to intend, the *Crosse* in *Baptism*, or the *kneeling* at the *Communion*, or other gestures established in that very Book, and by Act of Parliament, and the latter whereof they explain by Rubrick, in the Book of 5, 6. *Edw.* 6. But the Brethren know they meant these words, of such *other* Crossings and Kneelings, and gestures, which were many in those times, not appointed by the Book. So much for the Establishment. The next is, they are *superstitious*. Thirdly, *scandalous*. Both which have been replyed to above, to which I referre for brevities sake only, because this *Tract* is growen farre beyond what I intended. The fourth is, they have been occasions of persecution to many able and godly, peaceable Ministers, and sober Christians. With reference to what hath been said above, I add, first, Touching the *Ministers*, that *peaceable* they are not, if like the *Brethren*. Who first endeavour to enflame the *people* as well as *Parliament*, and then to cast questions of difference between the *King* and *Parliament*, about *Prerogative*, &c. as they not obscurely do, by quarrelling the validity of the Act, as not extending to Queen *Elizabeths* Successors, in Ecclesiastical Affairs; and the Kings *Proclamation*, till

2.

2. Superstitious.

Peaceable Ministers.

Pag. 62. *quer.* 4.

till confirmed by Act; and reproaching the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government* of the Church *publickly*. Theſe are not ſons of *peace*, but of thoſe who, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, *ſeparate very friends*; or as others read it, Separate the Captain or the *Princes*. For, *Sunt qui intelligant principem a ſuo populo, ut hic in illum rebellet, aut ille in hunc alienore ſit animo.* 'There are (ſaith mine Author) that by theſe 'words underſtand the ſeparation betwixt the Prince 'and the People, that they ſhould rebell againſt him, 'and he be diſaffected toward them. This for the Miniſters. Next for the godly and *ſober people*. Their calamity lyes in following rather thoſe, that delight to goe over Hedge and Ditch, then to keep the *Kings* High way. But for their ſuffering, though the Father, and Mother, and Children, cannot but be much grieved to afflict or ſee afflicted, a *Childe* or *Brother*; yet we know ſome *Members* muſt ſuffer to preſerve the *whole*. And ſometime the Parents are commanded to bring the *ſonne* forth to juſtice, not only for his vitiouſneſs, but for his *diſobedience*. And the *Magiſtrate* is ſometime forced to puniſh thoſe that have much good worth in them, only for ſome diſorder unto Government. And let no man reply, that theſe are for *vitiouſneſs*; but remember, that hereſie and *ſchiſme* are reckoned among the fruits of the fleſh, as well as *drunkenneſs* and *whoredom*. And that thoſe whom *Paul* wiſhed were *cut off*, were not vitious perſons, for ought appears, but *ſchiſmaticks*. And that our Saviour was much more facile to the *Publicans* and ſinners, then to the *religious*, but hypocritical Phariſees. Which is not written to diſcountenance Religion, but to make it appear, that if we look not well to it, ſtrictneſs may be mixed with much hidden evil, as theirs was; who yet were guilty, ſome of Will-worſhip, others of Doctrines of Devils. Howſoever, no mans *piety* muſt patronize his *irregularity* and diſorder; for the Wiſ-

Pag. 62. quer. 4

Pro. 16. 28.

Mercer. in loc. vid. et R. Kavenak. ibid.

Sober Chriſtians.

Anſw. 1.

Deut. 21. 20.

Inſt.

Anſw. 1.

Gal. 5. 2.

Ibid. 3.

Col. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 4.

Jam. 3. 17.

dom from above is *pure*, *peaceable*, &c. The fifth exception againſt the Ceremonies, is, That they are burdenſome for *number*, inſinuated, by the citing a place 'of the Preface of the Common-prayer Book, which 'quoteth * *Auſtin*, complaining of this evil in his time, 'and ſaying it was worſe then the *Jewiſh Padagogy*. But this no way comports with ours; which as they are innocent and *ſimple*, and well *explained*; ſo are they *few* in number; as *kneeling* in Prayer, and at receiving the Sacrament; *ſtanding* at the Creed, (for that at the Epiſtle and Goſpel, is not in the Common-prayer Book, though not againſt it,) the *Croſſe* in Baptiſm; the *Ring* in Marriage; the *Impoſition of hands* upon Children to be confirmed, and in ordination of Miniſters (in the Book of Ordination:) Beſides which *five*, I remember no other; I am ſure there is none material elſe appointed. And but *two* of theſe in the ordinary ſervice, kneeling and ſtanding, and but *one* in any of the other. Some few others there are in *Veſtiments*, and *Bowing at the Name of Jeſus*, eſtabliſhed by *Canon*; and others, by cuſtome, as the reading the Epiſtle & Goſpel ſtanding, and at the Communion-Table; (with ſome) the Vaylings of the Women to be Churched, out of uſe; which all amount to no conſiderable number. So that after they *have ſearched out* (or ſearched for) *iniquity* (if they could finde any in this particular) and accompliſhed a *diligent ſearch*, as the Pſalmiſt complains; yet all *theſe men whoſe hands are mighty* (in theſe kinde of catchings) *have found* (upon the matter) *nothing*; *they have not found their hands able* to faſten upon any number to make good the proof of this accuſation. Their laſt Exception is, that they ought to be removed, by the conſequence of the 34 *Article* of the Church, and of the *Preface* to the Common-prayer-book it ſelf; alſo of the ſecond *Homily* of the time and place of prayer; yea, and by the practiſe of the *Biſhops* themſelves. Wherein, as before, they prevaricate

* Ep. 119. *Januar. cap.* 19.

The number of Ceremonies in the Com-prayer Book.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Pſal. 64. 6.

Pſ. 76. 5.

Excepr. *ult.* P. 32, 33, 35, 39.

Ought to be removed.

varicate and play falſe. For becauſe the Article ſaith: 'That it is not neceſſary that Ceremonies be in all places 'one; and that they *may* be changed; therefore the Brethren infer, they *muſt* be changed. But they ſhould remember, *a poſſe ad eſſe, nedum, à poſſe ad neceſſe, non valet conſequentia.* 'That from what *may* be to what is, 'much leſs to what *muſt* be, is no good conſequence. 1. By Artic. 34. *Anſw.*

Again, for the *Preface* to the Common-prayer-book, becauſe it ſaith: 'That many Ceremonies were re-'moved, becauſe ſome were *abuſed*, ſo as that they 'could not be reformed without the removing of them; 'That others were *ſuperſtitious*, others *unprofitable*, others '*obſcured the glory of God*, others by their *multitude* were 'burdenſome: Hence the Brethren infer, That therefore thoſe Ceremonies, which the Compilers of the Prayer-book left, and were in their judgments profitable, innocent, clear, few in number, muſt be removed alſo. To make the *Compoſers* of the Book ſo ſimple, (as they did the *Parliament* that eſtabliſhed the Book) as to confute themſelves. 2. By the Preface of the Com. prayer. *Anſw.*

And to the third, (the ſecond part of the Homily of the time and place of prayer) *they handled this word alſo deceitfully*, as no doubt but their conſcience might have told them. For the Homily, 'having complained firſt of thoſe, who having pro-'phaned and defiled their Churches with *Heatheniſh* 'and *Jewiſh* abuſes, with *Images*, and *Idols*, with num-'bers of *Altars*; with groſs abuſing and *filthily* cor-'rupting of the Lords Supper, with an infinite 'number of toys and trifles of their own devices; 'to make a goodly outward ſhew, and to deface 'the *plain*, *ſimple*, and *ſincere* Religion of *Chriſt* 'Jeſus: Then the Homily ſaith: 'Gods vengeance '(as for the former, ſo) hath been and is provoked, 'becauſe people paſs not to come to the Church, 'either through blindneſs, or elſe for that they ſee 'the Church altogether ſcoured of ſuch gay gazing 'ſights, as their groſs phantaſie was greatly delighted 'with; 3. By the Homily. *Anſw.*

'with; becauſe they ſee the *falſe Religion* abandoned, 'and the true reſtored, which ſeems an unſavoury thing 'to their unſavoury taſte. As may appear by that a 'woman ſaid to her neighbour: Alas, *Goſſip*, what ſhall 'we do now at Church, ſince all the *Saints* are taken 'away, ſince all the goodly ſights we were wont to have 'are gone, ſince we cannot hear *the like piping*, '*ſinging*, *chanting*, and *playing* upon the *Organs*, that 'we could before? But (dearly Beloved) we ought great-'ly to rejoyce and give God thanks, that our Churches 'are delivered out of all thoſe things which diſpleaſed 'God ſo ſore, and *filthily defiled his holy houſe*, *and his* '*place of prayer*. Which laſt words, the Brethren refer to piping, ſinging, and playing on *Organs*. Whereas 'tis evident, that paſſage hath reſpect eſpecially to that before, where it ſpake of *Images*, *Idols*, *Altars*, with groſs and *filthy corrupting* the Lords holy Supper, and the *Gazeing* ſights.

2. Again, It condemneth not all piping, ſinging, or playing on Organs; but *ſuch* as they were wont to have; which was both *ſuperſtitious* for kind, and *too much* for quantity. He that forbad us to *pray* as the *Heathen*, either for babling or length; did not forbid us to pray ſoberly, and upon juſt occaſion largely.

Matth. 6.

3. Thirdly, If you take all in *concreto* and together, then *ſinging* is alſo condemned by the Homily, for it is ranked with *piping* and *Organs*. Therefore it muſt be underſtood with the former reſtriction, *ſuch* ſinging as was then; and ſo *ſuch* piping, ſuch organing; namely, ſuch as took up ſo much *time*, and was fitted *more to pleaſe the fancy*, than for godly delight, and ſpiritual excitation of the affection, and edification.

4. Laſtly, The Compoſers of theſe Homilies were *Biſhops*, the *Homil.* were approved by *Biſhops*, and by *Princes* and *Parliaments*; who had *Organs* and *ſinging* in their Chippels and Cathedrals, beſides the *Royal Chappel*. And therefore cannot be underſtood to condemn that thing

thing in Doctrine, which themſelves did allow in practiſe; unleſs we ſhould compare them to him *, who having an *Altar* in his Chappel, yet wrote ſtrenuouſly for *The holy Table*, *Name*, *and Thing*. This detorting therefore of mens *words* againſt their ſcope and *meaning*, by the Brethren, favours of their folly, who, as he ſpeaks, *will lie for God*; which he as little owns, as ſtands in need of. Job 13. 7.

* *Deletum in Autographo, repoſitum ab operis.*

To the laſt, The Biſhops omitting the Paſtoral Staff, which by the 2 *Edw. 6.* he is enjoyned to have in his hand, or to have it born by his Chaplain. Firſt, the Common-prayer in the Rubrick referrs to that Act of 2 *Edw. 6.* onely in reſpect of *ornaments* to be uſed in the time of the *Communion*, and other times of his *Miniſtration*; not to other things or times as this, which is an ornament to themſelves, which for *humility*'s ſake they have omitted, and to avoid *oſtentation*; but this is no example for others to neglect the things that concern the more *immediate* worſhip of God. In the former things, the Law gives it as a priviledge; in theſe, it puts it on as an obligation. *A Knight ſhall wear his Spurs and Sword*; that is, he *may*: but, *He ſhall ſerve the King in his Wars*; that is, he *muſt*. I ſhall end this diſcourſe with that which *Auſtin* ended his, *de Ritib. Eccleſiæ*, concerning the Ceremonies of the Church: *Sic itaque adhibeatur ſcientia, tanquam machina quædam, per quam ſtructura charitatis aſſurgat, quæ maneat in æternum, etiam cùm ſcientia deſtruetur; quæ ad finem charitatis adhibita, multum eſt utilis, per ſe autem ipſam, ſine tali fine, non modo ſuperflua, ſed etiam pernitioſa probata eſt.* 'Let 'us therefore ſo make uſe of *knowledge*, as we would 'do of an Engine, by which the building of *Charity* 'may be raiſed, which abideth for ever, even when '*Knowledge* ſhall be deſtroyed. Which knowledge, 'when it is applyed to *charity*, is very uſeful; that '*of it ſelf*, without ſuch an end and uſe, is not one-

Rubrick before the Confeſſion of ſins.

Ep. 119. *Januar. cap. ult.*

'ly found to be a ſuperfluous, but even a pernitious 'matter. Saith this Father. I add, *Vade tu, & fac ſimiliter.* And thus we have found mighty and ve- 'hement *informations*, ſupported with ſo weak and 'ſſender *proof*, as it appeareth unto Us and 'Our Councel, that there was no cauſe, why any 'change at all ſhould be made, in that which was 'moſt impugned, the Book of *Common-prayer*, nei- 'ther in the *Doctrine* which appeared to be ſincere; 'neither in the *Forms* and *Rites*, which were ju- 'ſtified out of the practice of the *Primitive* Church, ſaith King *James*. I conclude with an Admonition, an earneſt Suit, and an humble Supplication. My Admonition is to all, *firſt*, that they beware, leſt this * *wantonneſs*, ariſing from ſpiritual fulneſs, as it is in the bodily, ('They ate, and drank, and then 'roſe up to play) be not puniſhed with a famine; 'not of bread and water, but of hearing the Word 'of God, (either in the *letter*, or in the ſaving *power* of it) and of enjoying his holy *Worſhip*. Next, That they would apply to this, in its proportion, what one of the learned Profeſſors of *Tigur* hath concerning the Scripture, on an occaſion of the curioſities of ſome about that: *Quis enim alius in* Scripturis *præter Dei cognitionem fidem & vitæ noſtræ officium, ſcopus nobis eſſe vel poſſit vel debeat, non video*; * 'More then the *knowledge* of God, *Faith*, 'and the *duties* of our life; what other end we 'ſhould aim at in Scripture ('I ſay, or in a *con-* 'feſſion of faith, and form of *Worſhip*) I ſee not. Now theſe, by the *Articles* and Liturgy as they are, that we have as plentifully enjoyed as any other Church, is acknowledged by other Churches, as ſhall appear, and is on all hands owned. My earn- neſt ſuit is unto theſe Brethren, that now *labour* of this Book, that they would not travell to bring forth but *wind*. That they would conſider the wa-

K. *James* Proclamation for the uniformity of Com. prayer.

1. An Admonition.

* Let not every *wanton* Wit be permitted to bring what fancies he liſt into the Pulpit, &c. Dr. *Ushers* Serm. before the *Commons*, *Feb.* 18. 1620. pag. 6. Exod. 32. Amos 8. 11.

* *R. Gualter præfat. in* 3. *Tom. operum Zuinglii.*

What things we are to aim at in reading of *Scripture*.

2. A Suit.

Iſa.

ter

ter is now troubled on *both* ſides, the *penny* in the bottom will not be ſeen. That in paring of the *nails* too near, there is peril of cutting of the *fleſh*. And that if any thing, in it *ſelf* conſidered, may need amendment, yet as in ſome diſeaſes, at leaſt in ſome *remedies*, *Medicina eſt morbo pejor: The medicine worſe than the malady*. According to that of the Philoſopher: *Longiſſimè à rectâ ratione abſunt, qui ejiciendorum è corpore redundantium humorum cauſa, qui familiares corpori ſunt & conſueti, in corpus injiciunt coccos Gnidios, ſcammoniam, aliaque medicamenta à temperie corporis aliena, & ſæva.* 'Accuſtomed humors, though not ſo good, in the 'body, are yet better grapled with then ſcammony. My humble ſupplication is to thoſe who are in power, (if ſo be that this voice ſhall by any *eccho* aſcend their ears) That they would be, as 'tis promiſed, 'nurſing fathers unto this *child-birth* of the Church. That they would be as a *wall* to this Vine, that it may grow up and flouriſh; and as a *fenſe* unto this Vineyard (full of choice plants) both from breaking *in* upon it by odious *calumnies*; and from others breaking *out*, and making it but a *ſtalking-horſe*, to ſhoot at *further* game. That they would preſerve it *ſarta tecta*, which hath for its *matter* the ſacred *Doctrine*; for *form*, the divine *Worſhip*; for *uſe*, both a *Sanctuary* for a godly ſoul, and a *Bulwark* againſt the leſſer *Vermine* and greater beaſts of *Separation and Popery*. And in a word, hath been conſecrated unto us, and came ſwimming in the bloood of Martyrs, and *ſealed* by the *holy Ghoſt* unto our hearts, and by the *preſence of God* on our *outward bleſſings*. Finally, That they would pleaſe to reflect on, and *revive* that, wherein the *Kings* moſt excellent Majeſty, the *Lords* Temporal, and all the *Commons* in this preſent *Parliament* aſſembled, doth in *Gods* Name *earneſtly* require and 'charge all the *Arch-biſhops*, *Biſhops*, and other *Ordinaries*,

Plutarch. de ſanitat. tuenda non procul à fine.

3. An humble Supplication unto Authority.

Iſa. 49. Revel. 12.

Act. 5. 6 Edw. 6. & 1 Eliz. 1.

For eſtabliſhing the Book of Common-prayer.

'*naries*, that they ſhall endeavour themſelves to the *ut-*
'*termoſt* of their knowledge, that due and *true* execu-
'tion hereof (for eſtabliſhing the Liturgy) may be had
Note. 'throughout their Dioceſſes and Charges; as they will
'*anſwer* before *God*, for ſuch *evils* and *plagues*, where-
'with *Almighty God* may *juſtly* puniſh his people, for
'*neglecting* this good and wholeſome Law. I have done with the two firſt, the *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, the *Articles* and *Liturgy*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Aſſemblies, their matter and mixture.

SECT. I.

The means of preſerving them from corruption.

COme we to the *third*, that is the *Aſſemblies*, the impurity whereof is a *grand* motive unto *Independents* and *Separation*, wherein the *Church* is clear; the guilt muſt lie either on the negligence of *perſons* entruſted, or the neceſſity of *times*. and the condition of the Church. The *Laws* do meet with all both criminal and penal offences and evils; if theſe be executed, there can be no notorious offendors. And there are but two things neceſſary to preſerve an Aſſembly pure, *Inſtruction*, and *Correction* or *Diſcipline* upon offendors. Now the Church hath ſtrictly appointed *Catechiſm* through all the grounds of Chriſtian Religion; *prohibiting any to come unto the Lords Table, who cannot give an account of them*; and for the better ripening thereunto, hath ordained *confirmation* as a preparative. And for Diſcipline, to preſerve the Congregation pure, the Rubrick before the Order of the Holy *Communion* hath theſe words: *So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, ſhall ſignifie their names to the Curate*, &c. *And if any of thoſe be an open and notorious evil liver --- or have done any wrong --- the Curate having knowledge thereof, ſhall advertiſe him in any wiſe not to preſume to the Lords Table, until he have openly declared himſelf that he hath repented truly, and*

The Laws.

Rubrick after the Confirmation.

Rubrick before the Communion.

amended---and that he have recompenſed the party whom he hath wronged, or at the leaſt declare himſelf to be in full purpoſe ſo to do---The ſame order ſhall the Curate uſe with thoſe betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign, NOT SUFFERING them to be partakers of the Lords Table, until he KNOW them to be reconciled. Wherein you ſee there is full proviſion made for the purity of the Church. The Authors of *neceſſity* of Reformation, *pag.* 48. ſay of this Rubrick for its fulneſs in point of Diſcipline: What is this, but as much, and as high Juriſdiction, as any Biſhop can uſe in that particular? But I am not ignorant that *this Rubrick* hath not ſerved for a Plea at all ſeaſons. Caſes may ſo fall out, that *ſummum jus* may be *ſumma injuria:* and as in the *Civil*, ſo in the *Eccleſiaſtical* Judicatories, there may be cauſe to fly to the Courts of *Equity*, for the moderation of the rigor of the *letter* of the Law. But the intention of the Church is plain: and if it can not always attain its end, yet, *Eſt aliquid prodire tenus, ſi non datur ultra.* Yea, and the *congregational* Brethren themſelves acknowledge, That whatſoever defilements they apprehended in the Worſhip or Government of the Church, yet it did *never work in them any other thought, much leſs opinion, but that MULTITUDES of the Aſſemblies, and PAROCHIAL Congregations, were the true Churches and Body of Chriſt.* And again in the ſame page: 'We always have profeſſed, and that in theſe times, when the Churches of 'England were the moſt, either actually overſpread with 'defilements, or in the greateſt danger thereof---that 'we both did and would hold a COMMUNION 'with them as CHURCHES of Chriſt. Which reminds me of a ſpeech of one, in his dealing with perſons of theſe Principles: *Et adverſum nos loquuntur & nobiſcum loquuntur, & cum eos obmuteſcere compellat veritas, ſilere non permittit iniquitas:* that is, 'They ſpeak 'againſt us, and they ſpeak *for* us; and when *truth* con'ſtraineth them ſilence, yet their *iniquity* will not let 'them

Object.

Reſponſ.

Independents Acknowledgement.

Apologet. narrat. pag. 6.

Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. 1. *cap.* 8.

'them hold their peace. But touching the purity of the Aſſemblies, it is (no doubt) with the Church in this life, as it is with *every member* of it, who (if ſenſible) hath cauſe deeply to cry out with the Apoſtle, under the ſenſe of the mixtures of corruption, *Wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of death?* Rom. 7. Would we have *mixtures* born with in our ſelves? if, *Hanc veniam petimus, damus viciſſim*; let us yield it to the *Body*: eſpecially ſeeing we have for our warrant, not onely the ſtate of the *Jewiſh* Church, which in its greateſt Apoſtacy was owned by the Lord as his Spouſe, and the Members of it for his Children. *Where is the bill of your mothers divorcement?* And *thou haſt* Iſa. 50. 1. *taken my children which thou haſt born unto me, and offer-* Ezek. 16. 20. *ed them to idols.* Neither is it ſufficient here to ſay, That this Church was holy in *Abraham*, and alſo a *typical* one: for it was to be holy in it ſelf; and a *real* Church too, as well as typical; for they did *eat the ſame ſpiritual meat*, &c. (1 *Cor.* 10.) And the *Catholick* Church comprehends the Jewiſh, as well as that which is Chriſtian properly, as is truly aſſerted in the ſeventh Article of the Confeſſion of the Church of *England*. We have not onely this preſident, but alſo the example of our *Lord* and *Saviour*, who communicated with that Church, and did not gather another out of it, till the conſummation of that *Polity*, and till they had declared themſelves open adverſaries to the ſcope of Scripture both in *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*: In the mean time, both going up to their *feaſts*, and commanding his Hearers to attend upon the Doctrine of their Mat. 23. 2, 3. *Teachers*; and himſelf *living* and *dying* a member of that Church: challenging them all, *if they could tax* John 8. 46. exp. *him of ſin*, that is, of failing in any duty that he owed to the Church, as well as other things, which they would have readily done, had he failed. We have, beſides this, his Precepts and Directions in this very caſe; That, namely, where the peril is, that the *Corn* ſhould Mat. 13. 37, be plucked up, it is his will that the *tares* ſhould rather &c.

Robinſ. Apol. for Separat. *cap.* 12.

be ſuffered to grow until the *Harveſt*, which himſelf expounds to be at *the end of the World*; which place is, with more mirth, than either ſtrength or modeſty, derided by Mr. *Robinſon*, in his Defence of Separation: For although it be ſaid, The *field* is the *World*, yet it is *onely the World where the Goſpel is publiſhed*; and where the Corn and Cocle grow together, as thoſe that are generated by the Word; as evidently appears by the Parable of the *Draw-net*, which is ſaid expreſly to gather *both good and bad*; and that the Separation ſhould be made at *the end of the World*. Again, when he ſaith, That that Particle, *Suffer them to grow till the Harveſt*, is not repeated in the expounding of that Parable of the *Tares* by our Saviour; it is anſwered, That it is *impliedly* repeated and expounded, in that he ſaith, *The Harveſt is the end of the World*; having ſaid before, that the *Tares* (if the Wheat be in peril by their plucking up) ſhould be ſuffered till *then*; there was therefore no neceſſity of repeating that Particle. That he ſaith, The Text it ſelf, and Reaſon ſheweth, that he ſpeaketh not of *Excommunication*, but of final rooting out unto perdition; This is begged, not proved, nor can be granted: For it is a general expreſſion, and may include all cutting off, in ſuch caſe, either in this World, or at the end of it. Laſtly, whereas he ſaith, Though that ſhould be granted, yet the very Conſtitution of our Aſſemblies (which he makes the ground of all others the corruptions in them) being naught, *becauſe the Members were conſtrained by Laws, whether they were good or bad, willing or nilling, to embrace the Goſpel*; and that therefore this Parable is not applicable to them.

Apolog. cap. 12. p. m. 90.

Object. 1.
Reſp.

Verſ. 47.

Object. 2.
Reſp.

Object. 3.
Reſp.

Object. 4.
Reſp.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Cauſes conſtitutive of the Church of England.

WE reply, That whereas unto the *conſtitution* of any thing in its proper Being, there is required onely two things; firſt, right *matter*; and ſecondly, the due *form*: And the matter of the *Church* being, indeed, as he cryeth, *A holy people, and ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus*; as by the Titles and Directions of the *Apoſtolical* Epiſtles, and otherwiſe, doth appear: The *Form* alſo being *a profeſſion of repentance and faith* (or the Covenant of Grace in Chriſt Jeſus owned) and an *aſſociation* thereby in the Society of Saints: The Church of *England* will appear a ſound Church in both, and not to be ſeparated from. Firſt, for the *matter* of the Church, A *holy people*, and *ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus*, or *viſible Saints*: We muſt here premiſe a twofold diſtinction; Firſt, of the Church, which is either *myſtical* or *viſible*; then of Saints, which are either *real* or *appearing*. Now the *matter* of theſe Churches are correſpondent to the *nature* of them: The members of the Church *myſtical* are *real Saints* onely; the members of the *viſible* are *Saints viſible*. Now a perſon *viſible* in any *profeſſion*, is he who *underſtandeth* the general grounds of it, *owneth them*, and *acteth* accordingly, nor doth *any thing* whereby the *main* of that Profeſſion is overthrown. Now the people of the Church of *England* do generally know the grounds of the Faith expreſſed in the Creed, and expounded in the Catechiſm, which the Church appoines to be taught to all before they come to the Communion, and to be profeſſed by them. Next, they own this Profeſſion. And they, neither in opinion nor practice, do that which neceſſarily overturneth this Profeſſion *generally*, though in many things they (and we, as Saint *James* ſpeaks) offend all. And this Principle is owned by other Reformed

Rom. Corinth. Galat.

Robinſ. ubi ſupra, p. 81.

1. Matter of the Church of *England*.

A viſible Profeſſor.

1.

2.

3.

James 3.

Epiſt. 284. *pag.* 322. *edit.* 2.

Churches: The Church of *Geneva*, and *Calvin* among them, doth acknowledge, 'That foraſmuch as men remain in the viſible Church, till they utterly renounce 'the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, we may not deny unto 'Infants their right, by withholding from them the 'publick ſign of holy Baptiſm, if they be born where 'the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianity is not 'clean gone and extinguiſhed. [*Ubicunque non prorſus intercidit, vel extincta fuit Chriſtianiſmi profeſſio, fraudantur jure ſuo Infantes, ſi à communi ſymbolo arcentur.*]

Church of *Geneva*'s Judgement in this point.

Apol. cap. 12. *Belgick* Chriſtian Church Judgement alſo.

And this alſo is acknowledged in *practice*, even by the *Belgick* Churches, (which Mr. *Robinſon* ſo predicates for the liberty they have;) for they alſo Baptize the Infants of *all*; which ſurely they could not do, if they judged not their Parents *matter* of the *viſible Church*, and *Saints by calling*, in reſpect of their *outward profeſſion*. The general Profeſſion of a *Jew*, though he ſhould do ſome things contrary, and of a *Turk*, and the partaking of thoſe ſigns and ſymbols, which are notes of that Profeſſion, doth conſtitute them ſuch. Our people therefore, owning the Chriſtian Faith, and partaking of the Ordinances, and living viſibly under them, and not living ſo as if they did *believe nothing of their profeſſion*, though failing much, doth conſtitute them *viſible Saints*, and the *matter* of a Church. If any be *very* exorbitant, the Diſcipline of the Church, and the *Laws* of the Nation, which are a part of *chriſtian* Diſcipline, are to reform him.

2. Form of the Church of *England* conſtitutive.

Next for the *Form*; The *profeſſion of Faith and Repentance*, and *formal covenanting*. We are here to note, That there is a *formal* and a *virtual* Covenanting, or rather a Covenanting *immediately* in our *own perſon*, or by a *Deputy* (as in Law a man may anſwer by his *Attorney*;) So all the Churches of *England* do *formally* make Profeſſion of their Faith and Repentance, and enter into Covenant at their Baptiſm; and do *perſonally* repeat it themſelves in the rendering account of their *Catechiſm* at *confirmation*, and before the *Lords Supper*, which is the

the expreſs Injunction of the Church; if it be neglected, this is not to be imputed to the Church; though indeed, for *ſubſtance*, it is not neglected, neither are any uſually admitted to the Holy Communion, but ſuch as give an account of their *faith*, and are *not ſcandalous* in their lives. Rubrick after Confirmation.

As for the Objection, That they were forced to this by the Law at the Reformation: We are to conſider; First, That Chriſtianity was received voluntarily in this Nation ſoon after the publiſhing of the *Goſpel* in the Apoſtles times, as may be ſeen in *Tertullian*, and others of the Ancients; And that *Popery* was rather as a ſcab, or diſeaſe, that came upon it long after; as may be ſeen by the Writers on our ſides: particularly in the learned Defence of the Apology of the Church of *England* by Biſhop *Jewel*; and in Doctor *James Uſſher*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, his *Succeſſion* of the Churches, his *Religion* of the *ancient Britiſh*, his *Anſwer* to the *Jeſuite*, and other Writers. Secondly, We muſt note, That even the Church of *England*, whileſt Popiſh, yet held the Articles of the Faith, and ſo the ſubſtance of Chriſtianity, though much obſcured, and countervened by other Doctrines; they were alſo baptized, and did partake of the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and therefore were *Chriſtians*; not *nothing* in Religion, nor yet *Heathens*, or *Jews*, or *Turks*, and therefore in ſome reſpect right matter, as we heard before. Now the Reformation and the *Laws* then were not to conſtrain them to a poſitive Confeſſion or Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* (which conſtitutes the matter of the *viſible* Church, as we ſaw above) but to reject thoſe Doctrines and Corruptions that had obſcured it: it was rather a *reſtraint*, then a *conſtraint*. Now for the forcing thoſe who own a Profeſſion to perform their Duty in it, as to come to Sacraments, *&c.* this is not a forcing men to be of a Religion, but to anſwer the Profeſſion of it. Thirdly, Grant it were ſo, they had at firſt been forced; yet being now under no force, they ſtill own it;

Object. 1. *ibid.* *Anſw.* 1. Forcing to Religion.

2.

Note.

3.

it; why might not that force occaſion true converſion, as it did in the *Gibeonites?* and did in many of the Ancient *Separatiſts*, the *Donatiſts*, in Saint *Auſtins* time. *Nam de multorum jam correctione gaudemus, qui tam veraciter Unitatem Catholicam tenent atque defendunt, & à priſtino errore ſe liberatos eſſe lætantur, ut eos cum magna gratulatione miremur: qui tamen neſcio quâ vi conſuetudinis nullo modo mutari in melius cogitarent, niſi hoc terrore perculſi, ſolicitam mentem ad conſiderationem veritatis intenderent, ne forte non pro juſtitia, ſed pro perverſitate & præſumptione hominum ipſas temporales moleſtias, infructuoſâ & vanâ tolerantia paterentur, & apud Deum poſtea non invenirent niſi debitas pœnas impiorum, qui ejus tam lenem admonitionem, & paterna flagella contempſerint.* That is, 'We do already rejoyce in the 'correction of many, who holding now Truth and Unity 'with the Church, are glad that they are delivered from 'their former Error; who, by reaſon of cuſtom, would 'never have thought of changing, unleſs being *terrified* 'by their ſufferings, did begin *to bend their minds to the* '*conſideration of Truth*, leſt they ſhould both ſuffer here 'theſe afflictions fruitleſly, and afterward finde with 'God the puniſhment of *wicked men*, becauſe they did 'deſpiſe his gentle correction by the hand of the civil 'power. Thus he.

Joſh. 9.

Aug. Epiſt. 48. *ab initio.*

Object. 2. Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Bands. *Robinſ. Apol. cap.* 12. *p* 81, 82.

Touching that other Objection, That there is no diſtinction between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical *Bands*; but thoſe that are in a Pariſh, they are all of the Church, and have right to Ordinances, yea, and compelled thereunto: And no formal *Covenant* to conſtitute them Members of ſuch a particular Church or Pariſh. It is anſwered, That where a whole *Nation* is of the ſame *Religion*, as was the *Jewiſh* of old, and, by the mercy of God, many others have been, and are, of which number our own, there needs no other Formality to make a Chriſtian a Member of this and that particular Body, but their accepting him among them, and his practiſing of communion with them in the Ordinances

dinances and Worſhip of God. A free-man of the Nation may inhabit any where without a new Formality, and enjoy the liberties of a Subject: So he that is a member of the *National Church*. The diſtinction of Pariſhes being by publick Order, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, for the preſervation of mens *civil* Rights; And the better conveniency of *Edification*; And the preſervation of *Peace* and Concord in both. And he which ſhall contemptuouſly violate ſuch Diſtinctions, and refuſe communion in the Parochial Church wherein he lives, the Word and Sacraments being rightly therein adminiſtred, cannot avoyd the crime of a Perturber of the Peace in *Church* and *Commonwealth*; and as liable unto puniſhment, as he that makes a *Hedge* upon a *Common*, which is both diſorderly and injurious.

SECT. III.

Apoſtolical Chriſtian Church vitiated, but no Separation.

NExt come we to the *Apoſtolical* Chriſtian Church, wherein the *Doctrine* was more vitiated than in ours (till this late Apoſtacy ſince the War) the *Worſhip* defiled, *Manners* corrupted, *Diſcipline* neglected, and *Tyranny* by the Governors of the Church exerciſed; And no Separation that we hear of.

1. Touching *Doctrine*. In what Pariſh of ours is the *Reſurrection* of the dead denyed, as was by many in the Church of *Corinth*? In what Pariſhes of ours is the Doctrine of *Juſtification* by the *Works* of the *Law* maintained generally, as in the Churches of *Galatia*? 1. In Doctrine.

Then for *Worſhip*: Do ours partake of the *Lords* Table, and the Table of *Devils*? as did many among the *Corinthians*. Are our Aſſemblies ſo confuſed as theirs were? ſo far, that one might have thought them *mad*, 2. Worſhip. 1 Cor. 10. 1 Cor. 14.

mad, as the Apoſtle ſaith. Do ours come to the Com-
1 Cor. 11. munion *drunk*: And are ſo malicious one againſt ano-
ther, that they will eat the Lords Supper together, as
at *Corinth*?

3. Manners. Next, for *Manners* and life. Have we worſe than
Inceſt, Fornication, Covetouſneſs, Malice, Conten-
2 Cor. 12.21. tions, *unrepented of*, as was in the Church of *Corinth*?
'And biting and devouring one another, exerciſing the
Gal. 5. and 'works of the fleſh? Defrauding the Miniſter of his
Chap. 6. 'due, as in the Churches of *Galatia*? Permitting of
Rev. 2. and 'Idolaters, boaſting of Gifts? being neither hot nor
Chap. 3. 4. 'cold, as it was in the *Aſian* Churches?

4. Diſcipline. As touching Neglect of *Diſcipline*. Firſt, In the
Apoſtles own Company: The Miniſters that ſhould
Philip. 2. exerciſe Diſcipline, *they all ſought their own, and none
the things of Jeſus Chriſt*. And the *groſſeſt* vices wink-
ed at, and fomented, as we ſaw before in the Church
1 Cor. 5. of *Corinth*: And ſhould have been ſo ſtill, had not the
Apoſtle been living, and exciting them to their Duty.

5. Government. Laſtly, Concerning *Tyranny*. We ſee what oppreſ-
ſion the falſe Apoſtles uſed: *Ye ſuffer* (ſaith the Apoſtle)
2 Cor. 11.10 *if a man take of you, if a man bring you into bondage,
if a man devour you, if a man exalt himſelf, if a man
ſmite you on the face*. By which words he toucheth the
Tyranny, though out of malice, againſt the Apoſtle,
willingly ſubmitted unto by the Church of *Corinth*.
And we know that *Diotrephes* exerciſed his Govern-
ment with ſuch inſolency, that he caſt out whom he
3 Epiſt. John would, admitted whom he would, oppoſed the Apoſtle
verſ. 9. *John* himſelf; yet no news of Separation. And all
2 Cor. 11. this, which much excuſeth our Churches, even whileſt
1. the Church was as it were a *Virgin*, and *newly eſpouſed*
2. to Chriſt; and in the midſt of company, *viz.* the *Hea-*
3. *then*; and under the Rod of *Perſecution*; and the *Apoſtle*
4. yet living: what Degeneration followed, we know:
5. And yet thoſe that then ſeparated are noted with the
higheſt characters of Hereſie and Sedition that can be;
which leads me to the next, the *primitive* Churches.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Primitive Churches.

TOuching which, I ſhall produce onely a witneſs or two: whereof the firſt ſhall be *Cyprian*, a man of rare ſanctity, who preſerved the integrity of his conſcience with the loſs of his life; yet a ſevere enemy to Separation.

Firſt, He acknowledgeth the corrupt mixtures of the Churches of his time and place, and acknowledgeth the juſt hand of God in the Perſecutions of thoſe times for it. His words are: *Studebant augendo patrimonio ſinguli, & obliti quid credentes, aut ſub Apoſtolis antefeciſſent, aut ſemper facere deberent, inſatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubabant: non in ſacerdotibus religio devota, non in miniſteriis fides integra, non in operibus miſericordia, non in moribus diſciplina: Corrupta barba in viris, in fœminis forma fucata: adulterati poſt Dei manus oculi, capilli mendacio colorati: ad decipienda corda ſimplicium callidæ fraudes, circumveniendis fratribus ſubdolæ voluntates: Jungere cum infidelibus vinculum matrimonii, proſtituere cum gentilibus membra Chriſti: Non jurare tantum temere, ſed ad hoc etiam pejerare: Præpoſitos ſuperbo tumore contemnere, venenato ſibi ore maledicere: odiis pertinacibus invicem diſſidere: Epiſcopi plurimi, quos & ornamento eſſe oportet cæteris & exemplo, divinâ procuratione contemptâ, procuratores rerum ſeculorum fieri; derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe deſertâ, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæſtuoſæ nundinas aucupari: Eſurientibus in Eccleſia fratribus habere argentum largiter, velle fundos inſidioſis fraudibus rapere, uſuris multiplicantibus fœnus angere. Quid non perpeti tales pro peccatis ejuſmodi mereremur?* That is, 'Every one ſet their minds to increaſe their means; 'and forgetting what Beleevers either did in the Apoſtles times, or ſhould do at all times, they felt themſelves

Cypr. Serm. de lapſis 5. prope ab initio.

1. The ſtate of the primitive Church before Perſecution in *Cyprians* time.

'ſelves, with an incredible thirſt of covetouſneſs, to 'increaſe their eſtates. No ſerious Religion in the 'Miniſters, no faithfulneſs in diſcharge of their places; 'no Mercy in Works, no Diſcipline in Manners. Men '[through pride] new-fangled their beards: Among the 'women the face was painted: Their eye-brows, after 'God had done his work, adulterated with colours. 'Crafty plots deviſed to deceive men in bargaining, 'that meant plainly: Cunning ſhifts to circumvent 'their brethren. The marriage bond entred into with 'Infidels, and the Members of Chriſt proſtituted unto 'the Heathen: Not only was there ſwearing raſhly, but 'moreover forſwearing. The Governors with ſwelling 'pride contemned, and with a venomed tongue reviled. 'The Biſhops and Miniſters, who ſhould be both an or-'nament to the reſt, and an example, they, neglecting 'their Spiritual Work, their Seats, their People, flew 'up and down the Countreys, to Fairs and Markets, 'for Gains ſake. When the Brethren were empty with 'poverty, and hungry, they would have full Bags; 'they ſtudied to catch, by fraud and force, Lands and 'Livings: Uſe upon Uſe, to increaſe their Principal. 'We that were ſuch, for ſuch Sins what did we not 'deſerve? Thus far he, as to the firſt point of *corruptions* in the Church.

2. But no Separation.

2. Next, for his diſtance *from Separation*, notwithſtanding all this. Various are the Allegations that might be brought out of him: I ſhall mention one or two. *Si videntur in Eccleſia eſſe zizania, non tamen impediri debet aut fides aut charitas noſtra, ut quoniam zizania eſſe in Eccleſia cernimus, ipſi de Eccleſia recedamus: nobis imò laborandum eſt ut frumentum eſſe poſſimus*, &c. *i. e.* 'It ſhould not hurt our Faith and Cha-'rity that we ſee *Tares* in the Church, ſo as that we 'ſhould depart from the Church; but we muſt labour 'that we our ſelves be Wheat. Again, elſewhere: *Quantus arrogantiæ tumor eſt, quanta humilitatis & lenitatis oblivio, arrogantia ſua quanta jactatio, ut quis*

Cypr. ep. l 3. ep. 3.

Lib. 4. Ep. 2. pupoe finem.

ant

aut audeat, aut facere posse se credat, quod nec Apostolis concessit Dominus, ut zizania à frumento putet se posse discernere, aut quasi ipsi paleam ferre & aream purgare concessum sit, paleas à tritico conetur separare: cum que Apostolus dicat; In domo autem magnâ, non solum vasa aurea sunt & argentea, sed & lignea & fictilia, aurea & argentea vasa videatur eligere, lignea verò & fictilia conterere, abjicere: Cùm non nisi die Domini vasa lignea divini ardoris incendio concrementur; & fictilia ab eo, cui data est ferrea virga, frangantur. That is; 'How great 'a swelling of pride is it, how great forgetfulness of 'humility and gentleness, how great a boasting of their 'arrogancy, that any man should dare, or beleeve that 'he can do that, which was not granted, no not to the 'Apostles, to do! namely, That a man should think 'that he is able to separate the *Tares* from the Wheat; 'or as if it were given to him to carry out the chaff, 'and to purge the Lords floor, and so endeavor to se-'parate the chaff from the wheat: And whereas the 'Apostle saith, But in a great house there are not one-'ly Vessels of Gold and of Silver, but also of Wood and 2 Tim. 2. 'of Clay; he would seem to select the golden and 'silver ones, but to contemn and cast away the wooden 'ones, and those of clay; whereas those of wood are 'not to be burnt, but in the *Day* of the Lord, by the 'flame of divine scorching; and those of clay to be 'broken by him, to whom is given a Rod of Iron. Thus far *Cyprian.*

The other witness (both to the mixtures of Church Assemblies, and to the opposition of Separation notwithstanding) it is Saint *Austin:* who, as he wrote whole Volumes on this Argument; so, for the *first*, namely, the Corruptions of the Members of the Church, we have him often among the rest. In an Epistle unto *Aurelius*, where he thus writeth: *Multas carnales fœditates & agritudines, quas Africana Ecclesia in multis patitur, in paucis gemit, consiliorum gravitate & tua posßit sanare. i. e.* 'We hope, that by grave counsel, 'and

1. Corruptions of the Church in S. *Austins* time. *Epist.* 64.

'and ſpecially yours (ſpeaking to *Aurelius* Biſhop of 'Carthage) God may heal the *many carnal defilements* 'and (ſpiritual) *ſickneſſes*, which the Church of *Africa* 'A National Church. (note, a National Church) labours of in many, but 'bewails in few. Again, a little after: *Comeſſationes & ebrietates ita conceſſa & licite putantur, ut in honorem etiam beatiſſimorum Martyrum, non ſolum per dies ſolennes, quod ipſum quis non lugendum videat, qui hæc non carnis oculis inſpicit, ſed quotidie celebrentur.* That is; 'Rioting and Drunkenneſs is accounted ſo 'allowable and lawful, that it is ſolemnly committed 'in honour of the bleſſed *Martyrs*, and that not onely 'on their Feſtival Days (which yet who can ſee with 'ſpiritual eye, and not bewail?) but even every day 'alſo. Again, in the ſame place: *Tanta peſtilentia eſt hujus mali, ut ſanari prorſus, quantum mihi videtur, niſi Concilii authoritate, non poſſit.* i. e. 'So ſpreading 'is this plague, that abſolutely to heal it, cannot, in 'my opinion, be done, without the Authority of a 'Council. This of Drunkenneſs.

Next, for *Contentions* and *Deceits*: in the ſame Letter he adds; *De contentione autem & dolo, quid me attinet dicere? quando iſta vitia non in plebe, ſed in noſtro numero graviora ſunt? Horum autem morborum mater ſuperbia eſt, & humanæ laudis avidutas, quæ etiam hypocriſin ſæpe generat.* That is; 'What ſhould I ſpeak of Conten- 'tion and Deceitfulneſs? ſeeing theſe vices are more 'notorious in our Order? Now the root of theſe diſ- 'eaſes is Pride, and thirſt after humane applauſe, which 'oftentimes doth breed and beget Hypocriſie. Thus he, of the vitiouſneſs of Church-members.

2. Yet no Separation. Now touching his vehemency againſt Separation notwithſtanding, all thoſe Writings of his againſt the *Donatiſts* might be alledged. But the third Book againſt *Parmenian*, touching this point, one of our firſt and *Bucer.* in Mat. 18. 20. great Reformers ſaith (*Is locus hac maxima tempeſtate nobis ſingulari diligentiâ legendus & perpendendus fuerit.* i. e.) 'is a place that ſhould, eſpecially in theſe times,

'be

'be read with diligence, and conſidered. And *Calvin*, alledging a paſſage out of that Book to this purpoſe, introduceth it with a (*bene ergo & prudenter Auguſtinus*) 'well and wiſely ſpake Saint *Auſtin*; and then citeth a Plea very pertinent to our purpoſe. *Cum omnis pia ratio, & modus Eccleſiaſtica diſciplinæ, unitatem ſpiritus in vinculo pacis maximè debeat intueri: quod Apoſtolus ſufferendo invicem præcipit cuſtodiri, & quo non cuſtodito, medicina vindicta non tantum ſuperflua, ſed etiam pernitioſa, & propterea nec medicina eſſe convincitur. Illi filii mali, qui non odio iniquitatum alienarum, ſed ſtudio contentionum ſuarum, infirmas plebes jactantia ſui nominis irretitas, vel totas trahere, vel certè dividere affectant, ſuperbia tumidi, pervicacia vaſani, calumniis inſidioſi, ſeditionibus turbulenti, ne luce veritatis carere oſtendantur, umbram rigidæ ſeveritatis obtendunt, & quo in ſcripturis ſanctis, ſalvâ dilectionis ſinceritate, & cuſtodita pacis unitate, ad corrigenda fraterna vitia moderatiore curatione fieri præcepta ſunt; ad ſacrilegium ſchiſmatis, & occaſionem præciſionis uſurpant.* That is; 'All 'juſt meaſure of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline ought eſpe- 'cially to have reſpect unto the Unity of the Spirit in 'the bond of Peace: which the Apoſtle directs us to 'preſerve by mutual ſuffering one another: And which 'bond of peace not being kept, the medicine of Diſci- 'pline is not onely ſuperfluous, but pernicious, and 'therefore no medicine at all. Theſe ſons of *Belial*, 'which not ſo much out of hatred of other mens ſins, as 'out of love to their own contentions, having intangled 'the innocent multitude with their vaunting and vain- 'glorious names, endeavor to draw them wholly, or to 'divide them: Men ſwoln with pride, mad in ſtub- 'bornneſs, laying wait by ſlanders, *turbulent* in *Sediti- 'ons* (O *England!*) leſt they ſhould be proved to 'want the light of Truth, they hold forth the ſhadow 'of Severity and Diſcipline: And thoſe things which 'are commanded in the Scripture, ſaving Charity and 'Unity, for the moderate Reformation of our Bre- 'threns

Inſtit. lib. 4. c. 1. §. 16.

Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 1. à principio.

'threns failings, those things they abuse to sacrilegious 'and prophane Schism, and to occasion of Separation. Thus that place. And afterwards he adds (which was noted above) *Et revera si contagio peccandi multitudinem invaserit, divinæ disciplinæ severa misericordia necessaria est: nam consilia separationis & inania sunt, & pernitiosa, atque sacrilega; quia & impia & superba sunt, & plus perturbant infirmos bonos, quàm corrigunt animosos malos. i. e.* 'And truly if the contagion of sin 'have invaded the multitude, the severe mercy of 'Gods correction is necessary; but the fancy of reme-'dying it by separating is vain and pernicious, yea, sacri-'legious and prophane; because it is a wicked and 'proud conception, and doth more disturb the weak 'that are good, then correct the stubborn that are 'naught. And a little after concludes (as we heard above) *Misericorditer igitur corripiat homo quod potest; quod autem non potest, patienter ferat; & cum dilectione gemat atque lugeat, donec aut ille desuper aut emendet aut corrigat; aut usque ad messem differat eradicare zizania, & paleam ventilare. i. e.* 'Let a man therefore 'correct gently what he may; and what he cannot, let 'him bear, and with love bewail and lament, until God 'from above shall either amend it, or rebuke it; or 'else defer till the Harvest, to pluck up the Tares, and 'to purge away the Chaff. Thus far he, touching the second particular, namely, Separation. And so I have done with the Testimony of Antiquity.

Cap. 2.

SECT. V.

The Reformed Churches.

I Come now to the Reformed Churches; two of three of whose Worthies I shall produce as witnesses in this Cause: whereof the first shall be the last and latest, one unto whom this Nation is much obliged for his Dedication

Dedication of both thoſe Parts of his accurate and uſeful Labours for the Defence of the *Trinity* of Perſons in the Unity of the Godhead; And for his wholeſom Admonition to us, to take heed of the *Socinian Leaven*, in queſtioning the Godhead of *Chriſt*, or of the *Holy Ghoſt*: And ſpecially for his Obſervation, *viz. That the Eaſtern Churches were never over-run by the Turk, till they were firſt over-run with Arianiſm.* He, I ſay, in the cloſe of all his Works, and as it were a ſacred ſeal, leaves us this Aphoriſm: *Quamplurimos eſſe minime negamus, qui hac tantùm de cauſa inter fratres cenſeantur, quòd eandem Chriſti puram religionem robiſcum profiteantur: cum alioqui nihil minus revera ſint quàm fratres, propter innumerabilia quibus ſcatent, vitia.* *i. e.* 'We do not deny, ſaith he, but that there are very many, that for this cauſe onely are counted brethren, becauſe they profeſs the ſame pure Religion 'with us; whereas otherwiſe, they are indeed nothing 'leſs than brethren, by reaſon of the innumerable vices 'wherewith they ſwarm. Thus he. It is then the Profeſſion of the true *Faith* that makes a Brother; from whom then, till ejected from and by the *Church*, we may not, in matters of Religion and Worſhip, withdraw and ſeparate, although in *private* converſe we may; becauſe, as *Auſtin* notes, this may be done without danger of Schiſm, but that cannot. *Nam in domibus ſuis quiq; boni fideles ita diſciplinam ſuorum moderantur, & regunt, ut ibi quoque obtemperent Apoſtoli præcipienti, cum ejuſmodi nec cibum ſimul ſumere: ſed non tam facilè malorum multitudo, non poteſt à bonorum commixtione ſeparari.* *i.e.* 'For in their houſes all the Faithful 'do ſo order the government of thoſe that belong unto 'them, that they obey the Apoſtles Precept, commanding, 'with ſuch a one no not to eat; but not ſo eaſily a mul'titude of bad men are ſeparated from the mixture 'with the good, (as, to wit, a bad member of a family may.)

Zanch. de Trib. Elob. in Epiſt. ded. utriq; parti. Epiſt. ded. ad comit. Bedfo. d. part. 2. præfix.

Lib. de divort. 2. in fine.

Aug. contr. Parmen. l. 3. cap. 2.

The next ſhall be *Calvin*, whom ſome would make a

Patron in their way of ſeparating; he diſcourſing of this point, among other vehement expreſſions, hath this: *Ubi reverenter auditur Evangelii prædicatio, neque ſacramenta negliguntur, illic pro eo tempore neque fallax neque ambigua Eccleſiæ apparet facies; cujus vel authoritatem ſpernere, vel monita reſpuere, vel conſiliis refragari, vel caſtigationes ludere, nemini impunè licet, multo minus ab ea deficere, ac ejus abrumpere unitatem,* &c. *i. e.* 'Whereſoever the preaching of the Goſpel is reverently heard, and the Sacraments are not neglected, there, for that time, there appears neither a deceitful nor a doubtful face of a Church; whoſe authority they that deſpiſe, or contemn its counſels, or reject its advice, or make ſport with its chaſtenings, they ſhall never eſcape unpuniſhed, much leſs if they fall off from it, and rend the Unity of it. And afterward: *Quanquam autem ex inconſiderato juſtitiæ zelo, hæc tentatio bonis etiam interdum oboritur: hoc tamen recipiemus, nimiam moroſitatem ex ſuperbia magis & factu, falſâque ſanctitatis opinione, quàm ex vera ſanctitate, veroque ejus ſtudio naſci.* That is; 'Although this temptation doth ariſe ſometimes even in good men, by an inconſiderate zeal of Righteouſneſs; yet this we ſhall finde, That too much ſtrictneſs doth grow rather of pride and height, and a falſe opinion of Holineſs, than of true Holineſs, or a true zeal for it. Thus he. And he doth in that Chapter, by examples, not onely of the Church of the *Jews*, and in the time of our *Saviour* Chriſt, but alſo in the *Apoſtolical* Churches, demonſtrate, That greater Vices in Manners, and fouler Errors in Doctrine, to have been tolerated, than are in thoſe Churches that Separation is now made from. And adds this memorable Note, *viz.* *Quondam autem ſacrum unitatis vinculum ſolvunt, nemo juſtam impii hujus divortii pœnam effugit, quin ſe peſtiferis erroribus, ac teterrimis deliriis faſcinet. i. e.* 'But becauſe they diſſolve the ſacred bond of Unity, no man ſhall eſcape this juſt puniſhment, That he ſhall intoxicate himſelf with

Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 1. ſ. 9.

A true Church.

Sect. 16.

The Cauſe of ſeparation.

Sect. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

The puniſhment of ſeparation.

'with moſt peſtilent Errors, and moſt pernicious fan-'cies. Thus he. The truth whereof with horror we ſee at this day in the *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*, who firſt began with Separation. But the whole diſcourſe in that Chapter is well worth the ſerious peruſal.

The laſt Witneſs from theſe Churches, ſhall be his, unto whom, as the Forreign, ſo our own Church ows much of its Reformation: As, beſides his other Writings, appears in that excellent Liturgy of the Church of *Colen*, compoſed by him, *Melanthon* and *Piſtemus*, (of which before.) As alſo in his *cenſure* of our own Common Prayer-Book: he, as I ſaid, in his Commentary on *Zephany*, Chap. 3. (it is at the end of his Expoſition on the *Evangeliſts* and the *Pſalms*) hath a *vivide*, practical, and *experimental* Diſcourſe moſt effectual to this purpoſe, part whereof is as followeth: *Indubiè haud temerè factum eſt, ut nullum ferè pietatis exemplum ſcriptura paulo magnificentius prædicet, in quo non, uno Chriſto excepto, ſimul inſignem lapſum notavit: Quàm fœde lapſus fuit, Aaron, David, Petrus? ſed ne Moſes quidem perpetuo ſtetit, aut quiſquam ſanctorum alius: Vult enim Deus & ex ſuorum infirmitate, bonitatis ſuæ gloriam illuſtrare. Equidem al quot novi, qui proximo ſexennio, quo Evangelium Chriſti mundus iterum cœpit perſequi, pro Chriſto mortem fortiſſime oppetierunt, in quibus paulo ante vitam ſeveriorem nemo non deſiderabat: ita tamen corda eorum timor Dei poſſederat, ut licet plus nimio carni per omnem fere vitam indulſiſſent, ubi eo ventum fuit, ut vel negandus illis Chriſtus erat, vel ſemel tota caro igni tradenda, alacri vultu & confidenti pectore mortis duriſſimos cruciatus, vitæ admodum lautæ, delicataque, quam eis mundus promittebat, protulerint.* That is: 'Doubtleſs it is not 'without cauſe, That the Scripture doth not make 'mention ſcarce of any great example of piety, Chriſt 'onely excepted, who is not noted for ſome remark-'able failing: For how fouly did *Aaron*, *David*, and '*Peter* fall? Yea, *Moſes* himſelf did not always ſtand,

Vide Sleid. in. lib. 15. Ad Ann. 1543.

Bucer. Script. Anglic.

Bucer. in Zeph. 3. 15. &c.

'no nor any other of the Saints: For God will, by the 'infirmity of his Saints, take occaſion to illuſtrate the 'glory of his goodneſs. Truly I have known ſome 'within theſe ſix laſt years, wherein the world hath 'begun again to perſecute the Goſpel, who have cou-'ragiouſly undergone death for Chriſt; in whom, a 'little before, there was no man but could have wiſh-'ed a more ſober life: But the fear of God had ſo 'poſſeſſed their hearts, that though they had too much 'indulged the fleſh almoſt all their life; yet, when it 'came to that point, that they muſt either deny Chriſt, 'or elſe deliver the whole fleſh to the fire at once, they 'did, with a chearful countenance, and a confident 'ſpirit, prefer the moſt cruel torments of death before 'a dainty and delicate life, which the world proffered 'them. Thus he. And having mentioned others, ſuch who at that time of his writing did undergo moſt grievous ſufferings for the Truth, he adds: *Ut enim mulier proba, & mariti ſinceriter amans, millies potius moreretur, quàm pudicitiam proſtitueret, aut maritum deſereret; & ſæpe tamen multa admittit, quæ ſcit viro ingrata eſſe: Sic habent nonnunquam & ſanctorum mentes; à Deo deficere plane non poſſunt, vereque eum amant pro omnibus; adhuc tamen violenti adeo ſunt in illis carnis affectus, ut juxta nihilominus multa deſignent, quæ noverunt Deo diſplicere.* 'As, ſaith he, a faithful wo-'man, and one who truly loves her husband, would ra-'ther dye a thouſand times, than either proſtitute her 'chaſtity, or forſake her husband; and yet oftentimes 'doth commit ſuch things as ſhe knows are diſpleaſing 'to her husband: So it is ſometimes with the ſpirits of 'the Saints; from God they cannot wholly fall, and 'him they love above all; yet notwithſtanding, ſo vio-'lent ſometimes are the workings of corrupt nature, 'that they deſign and do many things which they do 'know offend Almighty God. Hereupon he gives this Caution: *Ne igitur judicium de quoquam præcipitemus, probe animadvertamus, ubi ſedem ſibi delegerit Spiritus Dei,*

Dei, qui vere illinc abeſſe nequit, ubi aures ſunt verbi Dei patientes; *nam nati ex Diabolo, illud audire haud ſuſtinent. i. e.* 'Let us not therefore raſhly judge of any 'man, but let us well note where the Spirit of God 'hath choſen his ſeat, who cannot be really abſent 'from thence, *where the ears can endure to hear the* 'Word of God; for the children of the Devil cannot 'bear the hearing of it. Then he renders the *original* cauſe of theſe miſtakes about Church-members, namely, not rightly underſtanding which are the *greateſt ſins* and *ſinners*. *Tenet quoſdam error pernitioſus, ut ſola iſta craſſa, ſplendidè veſtiri, lautè paſci, perpotare, ſcortari, opes ſtudioſius colligere, fœnerari, & hoc genus alia averſentur. Interim arrogantiam, faſtum, faſtidium fratrum, languorem circa quæſtiones frivolas, factiones, blaſphemias contra Dei verbum, obtrectationes contra Dei miniſtros: mendaciis credere, & temere credita, tum etiam ex prava ſuſpicione ſuggeſta ſpargere, & hujus generis alia nonnunquam pro virtutibus habeat; ſeque ter ſanctiſſimos arbitrentur, dum Stoico ſupercilio, caperatâ fronte, obſcuratis faciebus obambulant, vilibus veſtiuntur, gravibus non verbis, ſed tonitruis in omnes mortales detonant; nihil non perditum & flagitioſum vociferantes.* That is; 'But ſome perſons are poſſeſſed with a cer-'tain pernicious Errour; That, namely, they abomi-'nate onely theſe groſs things, To go brave, fare well, 'to drink, to whore, to get money, to put to uſe, and 'the like: But in the mean time, as for arrogancy, 'inſolence, prideful ſcorn of their Brethren, languiſh-'ing about frivolous queſtions; yea, factions, re-'proaches of Gods Word, ſlanders againſt his Mini-'ſters; giving raſh credit to lyes, and when they have 'precipitately believed them, or elſe by their own 'ſuſpicion deviſed them, to ſpread them abroad; theſe 'and the like they account for eminent vertues: And 'reckon themſelves *Pope-holy*, when they walk with a 'Phariſaical ſcorn, bent brows, dejected countenan-'ces, in a mean garb; and not ſo much with grave 'words,

A main Cauſe of miſ-judging our Brethren, ignorance of the *greateſt ſins*.

Bucer againſt Phariſees and Quakers.

'words, as with thunder-claps, declaim against all men, 'and cry out, That there is nothing but wickedness 'and ruine. Now if any man take it ill of our Author that he thus writes, he will give you both a reason, and evidence it by his further experience in both sorts now mentioned. *Quod expertus sum, & certa habeo animadversione exploratum, cur non ad Christi gloriam, & fratrum admonitionem tester?* 'What I have had 'experience of (saith he) and by observation do most 'certainly know, why should I not testifie to the glory 'of Christ, and admonition of the Brethren? Then he adds: *Eorum qui tam multi sunt in accusandis fratrum vitiis, quos quælibet vestis paulo cultior, quælibet cœnula lautior, quilibet sermo hilarior, tantopere offendit, qui perpetuo de excommunicatione quæritantur, perpaucos adhuc, ne dicam nullos reperi, qui non insigni sui confidentia, intolerabilis fratrum contemptu, & incredibili neglectus sui impatientia, nonnunquam & aliis gravioribus malis laborent, & prope semper peregrinis dogmatis, quæ tantum ad schismata & nullam ædificationem conducunt, addicti sint. Jam & HÆRESIS opus carnis est, & omnibus PERPOTATIONIBUS, SCORTATIONIBUS, ADULTERIIS longe nocentius.* 'As for those (saith he) which are so 'much in accusing the vices of their Brethren, whom 'every garment that is a little more than ordinary 'handsom, every entertainment that is somewhat ele- 'gant, every word that is a little merry, doth so offend; 'and who are always complaining for want of excom- 'munication and discipline; of such spirits, I have 'found very *few*, that I may not say *none*, who have not 'laboured, with notable conceit of themselves, into- 'lerable contempt of others, and incredible impati- 'ence, if they were neglected, yea, and sometimes of 'other more gross evils; but always almost I have 'found them doting upon heterodox Opinions, which 'have tended onely to Schism and Divisions, but to 'no Edification. Now HERESY (by it he means 'Opinions

Hypocrites, Opinions, and Separation, worse than prophaneness.

1. Men seeming Religious.

'Opinions and Diviſions now mentioned) is a work 'of the Fleſh, as well as any other, and is more peſti- 'lent than all DRINKINGS, WHORINGS, 'or ADULTERIES, by far. Thus he. And then he giveth you his Obſervation again of the other: *Contra deprehendi inter eos, quos illi propter vitam remiſſiorem & mundi opes, atque ſplendorem quendam, ut ethnicos deteſtantur, quamplurimos qui ut ſe peccatis obnoxios agnoſcunt, ita ſentiunt, & de ſe quam humillime, & de proximis quam benigniſſime: candido pectore atque æquo judicio in omnes, ſemper ſeſe deteriores aliis arbitrantes: Chriſtum quoque tanto ardentius amant, quanto ſe eo medico plus opus habere vident: dumque merita illis crux fuerit impoſita, nihil eſt eis tolerantius, nulli etiam plus pro Domino periclitantur.* That is; 'On the contrary, amongſt thoſe, whom the other, by 'reaſon of the remiſſneſs of life that they have ſeen 'in them, and of the worldly wealth and outward 'ſplendor, have loathed as *Heathens*, I have found 'very many, who, as they do acknowledge themſelves 'to be liable to many ſins, ſo they think moſt humbly 'of themſelves, and moſt charitably of others: of can- 'did thoughts, and a friendly opinion touching all 'men, ever judging themſelves worſe than others: 'And they love Chriſt ſo much the more earneſtly, by 'how much more they diſcern they need him to be 'their Healer: and when the affliction that they have 'merited hath been laid upon them, nothing could 'be more patient, none hazard themſelves further for 'the Lord. Thus far he. And after excuſing himſelf, and calling God to witneſs, that he doth not hereby in the leaſt intend the countenancing of a looſe, or diſcouraging of a ſtrict life; and praying that God would enable him, and all his people, to more exact Holineſs; he gives account farther of this diſcourſe: *Scripſi hæc (novit Dominus) nullâ aliâ cauſâ, quam ut monerem fratres, quibus datum eſt frugalius & ſeverius vivere, atque extraneis morbis eſſe liberis, primum ut diligenter*

2. Men ſeeming looſe.

Satanam

Satanam observent, ne eos internis interim infestet: & dum sinit *externas istas vanitates & delicias fugere, faciat eos internis, atque adeo longe nocentioribus addictos, hoc est sibiipsis placere, & condemnatione aliorum sese oblectare, tum & inaniter in dogmatum novitate deliciari: ex quibus postea aperte simultates & odia, tum* factiones & sectæ, ac indicibilia Ecclesiæ scandala. *Deinde ne qualibet labecula offensi, timorem Domini negligant, & apud quoslibet pervestigare.* 'I have written 'these things (saith he) the Lord knows, for no other 'cause, but that I might admonish my Brethren, to 'whom it is given to live more frugally and strictly, and 'to be free from outward vices; First, That they dili-'gently observe the Adversary, lest he infect them with 'inward ones: And whilest he suffers them to fly from 'these outward vanities and delicacies, he make them 'addicted unto inward, and so far more dangerous 'evils; that is, to please themselves, and to delight 'themselves in condemning others, and then to be 'wanton in novelty of Opinions; from whence after-'wards do break forth open malignities and hatred, 'then *Sects and Factions, and unspeakable scandals in 'the Church.* Next, that they be not offended with every small fault, and so neglect to enquire for the fear of God, even amongst any sort of men, he goes on: *Non paucis hodie cum damnato illo Pharisæo, justificatos publicanos, horrendo supercilio reficiunt, tantum quod eos vident, cum externis quibusdam morbis conflictari.* 'You shall see (saith he) not a few, who, as 'the condemned Pharisee, do, with an horrid and su-'percilious pride, despise the justified Publicans, one-'ly because they see them conflict with certain outward 'vices. He concludes: *Postremo, ne ob Ecclesiæ infirmitatem, quæ in omnibus (proh dolor) nimia est, dona Dei exhibita nobis, parum æstiment; eoque & ingrati erga Deum, & studio emendandi quæ jure offendunt, tardiores reddantur.* 'Lastly, (I have written this to ad-'monish) lest men should, because of the weakness 'of

These things not written to reproach Religion.

'of the Church, which (alaſs) is too much in all, little 'eſteem the gifts of God beſtowed on us; and ſo be- 'come both ingrateful towards God, and more unfit 'and ſlow to remedy what is indeed offenſive. *Longè quoque ſatius foret, centum hœdos pro ovibus habere, & monendo eos operam ludere, quàm unicam oviculam, pro qua Chriſtus mortuus eſt, ob peccatorum inquinamenta, in errore negligere, nedum Satanæ adjudicare.* 'For it 'were better (ſaith he) to count an hundred Goats for 'Sheep, and loſe our time in the admoniſhing of them, 'than for the defilements of ſin, to leave in its errour 'the pooreſt Sheep of Chriſt, much leſs adjudge it 'over unto Satan. *Ne quenquam filiorum Dei quantumvis puſillum, contemnamus unquam, ſed omnia noſtra intentiſſimo ſtudio & diligentia ad inſtaurationem ſanctorum, maxime vero eorum quos infirmiores aliis videmus, inſtituamus, ſic referemus Chriſtum ſervatorem noſtrum, qui erga eos, qui deterrimis morbibus laborabant, præcipuâ ſemper benignitate & ſedulitate medicum ſeſe exhibuit: Sic gratificabimur unice patri noſtro cœleſti, qui nullâ re aliâ, nos ſe imitari æque poſtulat, atque miſerecordia & benignitate. Illi ſit gloria in ſecula. Amen.* 'Let us not at any time deſpiſe any of the children of 'God (ſaith he) although they be never ſo feeble, but 'let us improve all our endeavour, with moſt earneſt 'ſtudy and diligence, to the building up of the Saints, 'eſpecially thoſe whom we obſerve to be more weak 'than others: So ſhall we repreſent our Saviour 'Chriſt; who, in a ſpecial degree of kindneſs and in- 'duſtry, ſhewed himſelf a Phyſician to thoſe who la- 'boured of the moſt loathſom diſeaſes: So ſhall we 'alſo in a ſingular meaſure gratifie our heavenly Fa- 'ther, who doth require our imitation in nothing ſo 'much, as in mercy and benignity. To him be glory 'for ever. Amen. Which is his cloſe, and (as to this particular) ſhall be alſo mine.

I come now to the laſt Evidence, touching the Matter and Members of the Church Aſſemblies of *England*;

7. Arguments, Experiences and Effects.

viz. to evince, That they are ſuch as ought not to be ſeparated from; taken from our own *experience*, teſtified even by thoſe of *forreign*, both Habitation and Diſcipline, relating both to our Miniſters and People. They ſay, our Divines, as to the practical Expoſition of Scripture, do (*palmam cæteris præripere*) bear away the Garland from others. And for our People, That they are (*florentiſſimæ Eccleſiæ*) moſt flouriſhing Churches, is teſtified, after many other of former date, now newly by certain of the *French*, both *Princes* and *Miniſters*, in their Letters to ſome of note in *London*, of both ranks. And, if we credit the report of *Travellers*, even thoſe that think our *Hedge* is worſe, yet they confeſs our *Fruit* is better: But I muſt remember, that the old Courtiers were not wont to lay Wagers, nor make *compariſons*. Yet let me add the Elogy of *Diodate*, the famous Profeſſor of *Geneva*, in his Letter to the *Aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter*, printed *An* 1647. where, having repreſented and bewailed the Calamities in thoſe laſt years faln upon almoſt all the *Reformed* Churches, he adds, *pag.* 3. 'One onely thing was wanting, namely, *That* 'flouriſhing England, *the very Eye and Excellency of all* 'the Churches; *Chriſts own choyce, purchaſe and peculiar*; 'the *ſanctuary* of the afflicted, the *Arcanal* of the 'faint-hearted, the *magazine* of the needy, the *royal* 'ſtandard of good hope. And again, *pag.* 11. '*May* 'God reſtore your Kingdom, and reſtore your Churches, 'to that high pitch of Holineſs and of Glory, in which, on 'the Theatre of the Univerſal Church, they have hitherto 'excelled and out-ſhined ALL the CHURCHES 'upon EARTH. It would be endleſs to alledge all that have ſpoken to this purpoſe: I therefore here ceaſe.

Præfat. Annot. L. de Dieu in V. T. præfix.

Letters of the Princeſs of Turenne, and ſome Miniſters, teſtifying his Majeſties conſtancy in Religion. Lond. 1660.

This Argument from Experience Mr. *Brightman* uſeth againſt the *Separatiſts*, and thoſe who withdraw from the *Lords* Table. *An pudebit eos illic diſcumbere, ubi vident Chriſtum non pudere? An illo ſanctiores & mundiores erunt? ſed quare ſe non convincunt ſuo ipſorum uſu?*

Brightman in Apocal. 3. 20.

uſu? non poſſunt inficiari, quin prius in Chriſtum crediderint, quàm fecerunt à nobis divortium. Unde hæc fides? An non ex prædicatione in noſtra Eccleſia? nunquid autem prædicare quis poteſt, niſi mittatur? Rom. 10. 13. *Quid ergo verbum propter labem aliquam externæ vocationis tam perverſe reſpuunt, cujus vim divinam in cordibus ſentiunt? &c.* 'Are they aſhamed (ſaith he) to ſit down 'there, where they *ſee* Chriſt is not aſhamed? Will 'they be holier and purer than *he*? But why do they 'not convince themſelves by their own *experience*? 'They cannot deny, but that they did beleeve in Chriſt, 'before they made this divorce from us. Whence had 'they their Faith? Was it not by the preaching in *our* 'Church? But can any man preach, except he be ſent? '*Rom.* 10.13. Why do they therefore ſo perverſly de'ſpiſe the Word, for ſome defect [*ſuppoſed*] in the 'outward Call, the heavenly force whereof they feel 'upon their hearts?

What, he there immediately adds: *Etiamſi fructus iſte, non magis culpa liberat depravationes noſtras, quàm vera proles adulterium.* That is; 'Notwithſtanding 'this fruit (of converſion) doth no more excuſe our 'Corruptions (he means in Church Government eſpe'cially) than a true Childe doth Adultery. This paſſage was both inconſiderately, and (as it *implyed*) untruly ſpoken. Inconſiderate it was; for the *Separation*, againſt whom he there writes, do acknowledge, *That they had their Faith and Grace indeed in the Church of* England; *but*, according to his own expreſſion, *that they did no more excuſe the Church, or prove it to be a true Church, than a true Childe doth excuſe Adultery, or prove that the Woman is a true Wife.* They retort his own Metaphor upon him. *Object.* *Reſp.* *Jo. Robinſ.* Apol. for Separation, *cap.* 12. *p. m.* 94.

But again, it was an unproper ſimilitude, and untrue in the implication of it: for it implieth, That there may be a true Converſion where there is no Church, as there may be a true birth where there is no wedlock. But we muſt remember, That *Chriſt* doth not ſtand in 2.

In what relation Christ stands unto his Church.

relation to a *Church*, as a *man* doth unto a *woman*, (by conjunction of whom there issues a natural birth, whether their meeting be *matrimonial* or no; God therein operating according to that course which he hath setled in *Nature*, without respect unto his *positive* Law in that case provided;) but *Christ* stands in relation to his Church as a *Husband* to the Wife in spiritual and legitimate Matrimony, the bond whereof is the Covenant of Grace; according to that of the Apostle, 'I
2 Cor. 11. 2. 'have *espoused* you as a chaste Virgin unto Christ.
Ephes. 5. 23. And again, 'The Husband is the head of the Wife, 'even as *Christ* is the head of the Church: wherein he implies, that he is the Husband also. Now the Childe is not the Husbands, unless begotten in Matrimony. To imply therefore, That there may be Conversion by those who are no Church, were to make, as it were, the Spouse of Christ an Harlot, a thing horrid to imagine.

But to return to our Evidence from the Fruits of our Church and Ordinances. There is a demonstration (τὸ ὅτι) from *effects*, if they be so properly, and not consequences accidentally onely, which I say, to prevent that *crambe, non sapius cocta* (and why was it not so of late, when great proof was taken from success and issues?) *careat successibus opto, &c.* To this therefore we may add those speeches, both of *our Saviour* and *our Apostle* in this way of reasoning from the proper *effects*, unto the *causes*. 'You shall know them by their
Mat. 7. 16. 'FRUITS, saith our Saviour. Do men gather Figs
'of Thorns, or Grapes of Thistles? And the Apostle;
2 Cor. 9. 2. 'If I be not an Apostle unto others, yet doubtless I 'am unto you; for the *seal* of my Apostleship are ye 'in the Lord: That is; Your Conversion proves me a true Minister of Christ. And elsewhere: 'This onely
Gal. 3. 2. 'would I learn of you; Received you the Spirit by 'the works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith? It was good consequence in our Saviours and S. *Pauls Logick*, to prove a true Church and Ministry by the effect of Conversion; and why not in ours?

On

On the contrary, the Aſſemblies of the *Separation*, Independency, Anabaptiſm: Firſt, negatively, No converſion is found, or rarely in them, from prophaneneſs to grace; but it is confeſſed by themſelves. Salvificam fidem & veram pietatem *multorum cordibus in Eccleſia Anglicana, per Evangelii prædicationem & ingenerari & foveri, abſit ut vel negemus nos, vel non eo nomine ingentes gratias Deo opt. max. & NOSTRUM ipſorum, & aliorum reſpectu debitas fateamur.* 'God 'forbid (ſaith Mr. *Robinſon*, of whom we may well ſay, as *Auſtin* once of *Tichonius*, viz. 'That he was a man, *acri ingenio præditum, & uberi eloquio, ſed tamen Donatiſta: i. e.* 'endued with a ſharp wit, and good ut-'terance, but yet a Donatiſt, a Separatiſt.) God for-'bid (ſaith he) that we ſhould deny, but that *ſaving* 'Faith, and *true Piety*, is both generated and maintain-'ed by the preaching of the Goſpel in the Church of 'England; yea, we give moſt vehement thanks to the 'great and gracious God in this reſpect, both for OUR 'SELVES and others. They are generally converted before they fall to thoſe ways, and have an *actual* ſenſe of Religion upon them, (for their habitual Converſion was in their Baptiſm, and in their relation to the profeſſion of Faith, under which they were born, upon which ground they have a right unto Baptiſm, as we ſaw above out of *Calvin*.)

1. None, or rare converſion in the Separation.

Robinſ. Apol. *cap.* 12. *p.m.* 93.

Contr. Parmen. l. 1. *cap.* 1.

Habitual Converſion.

Epiſt. 285.

Secondly, Poſitively, There grow ſuch *ſowre* Grapes, ſuch *Rents*, Contentions, looſe practices; eſpecially theſe three, noted above out of *Bucer*, *Pride*, *Contempt* of others, and *Opinions*. Add alſo what my ſelf, by long and much experience, have obſerved, (of which above.) Whoſe *Prayers* are oft-times Prefaces to other matters, as our Saviour hath it: Not but that there are ſuch among us alſo; but yet, as the Lord noteth, 'A proſelyte unto ſuch perſons, becomes twofold the 'Childe of Hell more than he was before, as adding 'and colouring his corruptions with Religion, and yet 'perhaps himſelf not ſeeing his hypocriſie, as he did 'clearly

2. The ſowre grapes of Separation.

Mat. 23. 14.

Verſ. 15.

'clearly see his prophaneness and his danger before. 'They indeed do neither enter into the *Kingdom* of 'God themselves (that is, the *Church*) nor suffer others
Vers. 13. 'to abide quiet in it, as our Saviour in the same place. And may in this be compared unto *Beggars*, that steal the children of others, and carry them about as their own.

Object. Answ. To conclude this point then; Seeing Conversion is fully and plentifully had in the Church of *England*, seeing it cannot be shewed to any purpose among them, (and yet if it may be, yet it is by that Doctrine and Worship which they had in this Church, and have abused unto Separation) as *Austin* once of the *Donatists*: *Quasi vero ex hoc generet unde separata est, & non ex hoc unde conjuncta est. Separata est enim à vinculo charitatis & pacis, sed adjuncta est in uno Baptismate. Itaque est una Ecclesia, quæ sola Catholica nominatur, & quicquid suum habet in Communionibus diversorum à sua communitate separatis, per hoc quod suum in eis habet, IPSA utique generat, non ILLÆ.* 'As if (saith he) those 'Assemblies did convert as they are separated, and not 'as they are conjoyned. They are separated from the 'bond of charity and peace (with the Church) but 'they are joyned in one Baptism (and so in the other Sa- 'crament and Administration of the Word.) There- 'fore there is one Church, which onely is called Ca- 'tholick, and whatsoever it hath in the Assemblies of 'those that are separate from its Communion: by 'THAT which it hath of its own in those Companies, 'IT doth beget and generate, and not THEY. Thus he most truly. But (as I said) seeing Conversion is acknowledged by them to be true and frequent in the Church of *England*; seeing it is rare, if at all, among the Separation; seeing if it be, 'tis by vertue of what they have had from this Church; seeing the fruits are fruits of the Flesh, and not of the Spirit, that grow most among them (*as such*) and that of the worst kinde also, as we saw before: And the Apostle reckons

How there may be Conversion in a Schismatical Assembly.

Aug. de Bapt. contr. Donat. lib. 3. cap. 10.

A Summary of the former Arguments.

1. Against separate Assemblies.

reckons fornications (which I have known ſome among them to defend, under the notion of plurality of wives) variance, hatred, *hereſies*, ſeditions, among thoſe works: And our own experience in this Nation of late daies hath abundantly leſſened us. Seeing, I ſay, this Church is their *Parent*, and the *Miniſters* of it their *Fathers* in the Lord, as the Apoſtle ſaith of himſelf to a Church, that caſt him off, as theſe do them. And laſtly, Seeing they do ſo vilifie, though ſome of them gives *good words* with their mouth (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) yet they curſe with their heart; that is, they labour the *diviſion* and ruine of it; let them remember that, Hee that *curſeth his Father*, and *chaſeth away his Mother*, the *Crows* of the vallies ſhall pick out his eyes; as they have done the eyes of ſome that way of late. For woe unto him that ſaith unto his *Father*, what *begetteſt* thou? or to the *Woman*, what haſt thou *brought forth*? There are *ſpiritual* wickedneſſes. Thoſe that 'ſaid unto their *Brethren*, *ſtand off*, I am holier than 'thou were a ſmoak in the Lords noſtrils all the day: Our Lord and Saviour declined thoſe *Separatiſts* (for that may be the Etymology of the word *Phariſee*, as we ſaw above) and did eat with the *Publicans* and *Sinners*: And the *Penitent* one of *them*, went down to his houſe juſtified rather than the other.

Gal. 5. 2. 1 Cor. 4. 15. 3. Apol. Narrat. pag. 6. Pſal. 62. 4. Prov. 30. Iſa. 45. 10. Epheſ. 6. 12. Iſa. 65. 5. Mat. 9. 13. פרש *Separavit.* Luke 18. 9. 14.

I have inſiſted the longer upon this point, the *matter* and members of the Aſſemblies; *firſt*, becauſe in nature it is (*primum eſſentiæ & conſtitutionis principium*) the firſt thing in every being, as *alſo* becauſe the adverſaries do ſay it is: *Fundi noſtri calamitas prima & præcipua, 'ex qua pleraſq; alias oriundas crederem, i. e.* The main 'calamity of our Church; the firſt and chief from 'whence they beleeve moſt of the other corruptions do 'ariſe; To which I have alſo adjoyned diſcourſe touching the *form* of it alſo, namely, its *covenanting* with the Lord in the profeſſing and owning the Covenant of Grace, both in *Baptiſm*, and at riper years, at *Confirmation* before admiſſion to *full* Communion in the Holy Sacrament;

Robinſ. Apol. pro ſeparat. cap. 12. p. m. 92.

Sacrament; that ſo it might appear that the *whole Eſſence* of this Church is found, the cauſes *conſtitutive, viz.* the *matter* and *forme* of it being ſo. I ſhut up this touching the *Aſſemblies*, and our experience of the preſence of God in them, notwithſtanding whatſoever matter and *mixtures* of them, with that of Mr. *Brightman*, touched in part above, to the *Separation* of his time: *Quamobrem redite ad unitatem Eccleſiæ, quæ vos genuit & aluit; ſi fugiatis hunc Chriſtum, qui cum Electis in noſtris cœtibus cœnat, ac eos viciſſim excipit, profecto nuſquam invenietis.* Wherefore, ſaith he, Return 'ye again into the Unity of that Church, which hath 'both *begotten* and *bred* you up. If ye flee from this 'Chriſt, who doth ſup with his Elect ones in our Aſ'ſemblies, and again receiveth and entertaineth them; 'aſſure your ſelves you ſhall finde him no where. Thus Mr. *Brightman*. A man otherwiſe, not over zealous for the Church of *England*. And thus I have done with the firſt three things conſiderable in the Church, and offences, which have been occaſions of ſeparation to Independency, namely, the *Doctrine*, the Worſhip, and the Aſſemblie.

Brightman in Apoc. 3. 20.

CHAP. VII.

Of Diſcipline.

4. Cauſe of Separation Diſcipline.

I Come now unto the fourth, to wit, the *Diſcipline*; wherein I ſhall indeavour brevity, becauſe of the former largeneſs, and becauſe the Main is already diſpatched. Firſt, Therefore to the perſons wee deal againſt, then to the thing it ſelf; for the former: *Certè ab Amicâ & fraternâ admonitione incipiendum eſt, hac prætermiſſa, de excommunicatione quæritari, pluſquam Phariſaicum eſt, ne dicam Satanicum*, ſaith *Bucer*, that

1. The perſons for Diſcipline.

Buc. in Zeph. 3. 20. pag. *ult.*

'is

'is; Certainly man ought (in Diſcipline) to *begin* at 'loving and brotherly *admonition*; if this be neglected, 'to complain of the want of Excommunication and '*Diſcipline*, is more than *Phariſaical*, that I ſay not '*Satanical*. Thus hee. Now with thoſe that depart for want of Diſcipline, they ſhoot with white powder, as they ſay, and the *Bolt* comes before the *Thunder*; they ſeparate and excommunicate the whole Aſſembly before they ſee if they can reform it.

2. The Matter.

Secondly, For the matter it ſelf: And firſt for the *thing*, then for the *manner* and perſons that have executed it. For the thing: There is in the Church of *England* as much *Diſcipline* both in Law and execution (before Late-times) as is uſually executable in ſo *great a body*, either by the *Laws* of the Common Wealth, or the *Canons* of the *Church*; and ſeeing *Church and Common Wealth* are *incorporated* into one, as was that firſt Church of God, the *Jewiſh*; ſeeing the work is done in the whole body for the preſervation of its being, and purity; what matters it by which of the *two* hands. All the breaches of the *Ten Commandements* are puniſhable by Law: And other things; as *Ignorance*, and other *Scandals*; or the ſame are taken notice of by the *Rubricks* of the *Liturgy*, and eſpecially by that before the *Communion*, wherein the Miniſter hath power given him, and is admoniſhed to reſtrain the ſcandalous.

1. Civil Laws in a Church are Church-Laws.

Next for the *manner* and perſons by whom this Diſcipline is commonly exerciſed. The *Judges* and the *Biſhops Officers*: what matters it, if the thing be as well *done*, as is uſual in ſo great bodies, as was ſaid; and as the *condition preſent* of the Church will bear. Though Chriſt himſelf baptized not, but his Diſciples, was it not therefore a right admiſſion? But theſe that depart for Diſcipline, it is oft-times for fear it ſhould be exerciſed upon them, being *lawleſs* in many things, and ungodly; and who themſelves can hear none, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks in the like caſe. But if it were formerly the *left* hand, and that not *clean* enough, if by ſuch

3. The Manner.

1. John 4. 2.

1 Tim 5. Gal. 6.

2.

as were *not fit persons*, either for their *Calling*, or *Corruptions*; there may be a *Spunge* in that case provided.

3. How soever, it is the *Authority* from whence, not the
4. *Officer* by whom the thing is managed. Lastly, Though there should have been, or yet may be, not only in the *manner* of the administration, or the *Application* and use of it; but also much defect in the *thing* it self, as to the Discipline in this Church; *Verum quia non ita sedulo semper advigilent Pastores interdum etiam indulgentiores sunt quàm oporteat, vel impediuntur, quo minus eam quam vellent severitatem exercere possint; fit, ut non semper submandantur etiam palam mali à sanctorum Contubernio —— Verum etiamsi Ecclesia in officio cesset, non protinus unius cujusq; privati erit, judicium separationis sibi sumere. —— Aliud est malorum fugere contubernium; aliud ipsorum odio, Ecclesiæ Communionem renuntiare.* Yet because the *Pastors* do not alwaies watch so diligently, 'and sometime they are more indulgent than is meet; 'or they are *hindred*, that they cannot exercise that se-'verity, that they could wish; by which means it comes 'to pass, that *open* evil men are not alwaies removed 'from the society of the Saints; yet although the 'Church be slack in its duty, it is not therefore every '*private* members part, to assume to himself the judge-'ment of Separation. It is one thing to fly from the so-'ciety of evil men; and another thing, through the ha-'tred of them, to renounce the Communion of the Church, saith *Calvin*; with which dismiss, I should conclude this head of Discipline also; but that the former *Brethren, ne quicquam omnino intactum relinquerent*, that they might turn every *stone*, and shake all *Foundations*, forgetting that he that removeth (such) *Stones* shall be 'hurt therewith; and that breaketh the *Churches hedge*, 'a Serpent shall bite him; have also charged this. Now *Discipline* is the *Order* of Church-Government, for the preservation of the *Doctrine*, the *Worship*, the *Assemblies*, and is as the *Fense* unto the *Garden*, or the *Tower* unto the City; and is contained in certain *Rules*, *Canons*, and

Calv. Inst. lib. 4. cap. 1. Sect. 15.

Eccles. 10.

Discipline.

and Eccleſiaſtical *Laws*, for the preſervation of *Unity*, *Order*, and *Decency* in the former particulars. Their exceptions are againſt the *Canons* chiefly, eſtabliſhed in *Convocation*, and confirmed by the *Kings Authority*, *Anno* 1603. They object eſpecially their *Non*-eſtabliſhment by Law, their contradiction to the Laws, &c. which diſcourſe ſavouring more of the *Hall* of *Weſtmin.* than of the *Abby*; leave it I ſhall there to be decided. The rather, becauſe it conſiſts moſt of *Repetitions*, (as they are better at thoſe than at *repentings*, which is not ſpoken to reflect on ſuch repeatings as are grave and ſerious, for *thoſe* are commanded.) for *Matters* anſwered above particularly. As alſo becauſe, by indeavouring to make things plain, this Tractate is grown *in immenſum*, ſo that the thought of it troubles my ſelf, and more the peruſal of it may the Reader. As for the *things* they inſiſt on, being of *that nature* as 'they are; did my ſelf think as the Brethren do, that *viz.* 'they might be *illegal* perhaps in ſome things, or *incon-* 'venient; nevertheleſs as in other things of like nature, 'even ſo in theſe; my *private* judgement, I ſhould be 'loath to oppoſe againſt the force of their Reverend Authority, who by their *Place*, *Parts* and *Experience* have cauſe to ſee further, and have judged otherwiſe of them; but rather take counſel of *Auſtin* unto *Januarius*, in the like Argument: *Ut ea quæ proloquutus ſum, ſerves quantum potes, ut decet Eccleſiæ prudentem ac pacificum filium.* 'That thoſe things which I have ſpoken, ſaith 'hee, thou ſhouldeſt obſerve, as much as may be, as 'becometh a *prudent* and *peaceable* Son of the Church. But wee may take up in this caſe moſt juſtly that complaint that he hath in the ſame Epiſtle; *Senſi enim ſæpe dolens & gemens, multas infirmorum* perturbationes *fieri, per quorundam fratrum contenſioſam* obſtinationem, *& ſuperſtitioſam timiditatem, quæ in rebus hujuſmodis quæ neq; Scripturæ ſanctæ authoritate, neq; univerſalis Eccleſiæ traditione, neq; vitæ corrigendæ utilitate ad certum poſſunt terminum pervenire; tantum quia ſubeſt qualiſcunq;*

Neceſſit. Reform. pag. 54. The Canons of 1603.

Why the Brethren except againſt theſe Canons, is not here particularly anſwered.

2. Deut. 6. 7.

R. Hook. Eccleſ. pol. l. 5. p. 20.

Aug. ad Januar. Ep. 118. *in fine ipſo.*

Idem. ibid. cap. 2.

liſcunq; ratiocinatio cogitantis, aut quia in ſuâ patriâ ſic ipſe conſuevit, aut quia ibi vidit, ubi peregrinationem *ſuam, quo remotiorem à ſuis, eo doctiorem factam putat, tam litigioſas excitant quæſtiones, ut niſi quod ipſi faciunt, nihil rectum exiſtiment.* 'I have often found (ſaith he) 'mourning for it, and grieving, that much of the un-'ſettledneſs of the *weak*, is occaſioned by the *contentious* 'obſtinacy and *ſuperſtitious* fearfulneſs of ſome Bre-'thren; which in ſuch things, as are not determined by 'the Authority of the Holy *Scripture*; nor by the tra-'dition of the *Univerſal* Church; nor by the benefit of 'correction of *life*, can ever come to any certain pe-'riod; onely becauſe there is ſome appearance of rea-'ſon in him that fancieth ſo; or becauſe he is uſed to 'do ſo in his own Country; or becauſe he hath ſeen it ſo 'in his travels (which by how much the *farther* they 'were off from his own Country, the more *learned* he 'thinketh them to be) do raiſe ſuch litigious que-'ſtions, that unleſs it be, what they do themſelves, they 'think nothing well done; Thus far he. I have done with the Diſcipline.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Government *by the* Miniſtry *in general, and by* Epiſcopacy *in particular.*

SECT. I.

Miniſters.

9. Cauſe of Separation, The Government.

I Addreſs my ſelf now unto the *fifth* and laſt thing, the *Government*; under which I comprehend the *Miniſtry*, as well as *Epiſcopacy*; both in their *Calling* and employment. Firſt,

First, The *Miniſtry*: To whoſe conſtitution it is required that he be *orthodox* in Doctrine, *able* in parts, *innocent* of life, *examined* by ſuch as are in place ſo to do; that he be not *excepted* againſt by the *People*, and ſolemnly *conſecrated* by prayer and impoſition of hands thereunto. More we ſhall not finde in Scripture neceſſary: as by the conſideration of 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1. *Act.* 14. 23. with other places, may appear. Now if unto all this, *God* do give evident *teſtimony* to his Miniſtry, by *his preſence* therewith, both on the *hearts* of his people, and *conviction* of the adverſaries, and by *appearing* for him *otherwiſe*: there is then a further *ſeal* of his Miniſtry. Conditions requiſite to the conſtitution of a Miniſtry.

The former *ſix* Particulars are all obſerved in the Church of *England*, in the ordering of Miniſters, as by the Book of *Ordination* may appear, although perhaps not with that exactneſs at all times, as might be wiſhed. All of them obſerved in the Church of *England*. Book of Ordination of Miniſters. Book of *Canons*. *Can.* 34, and 35.

And for the ſeventh and *laſt*, God hath ſet to his *ſeal* in the plentiful bleſſing of their Labours. 'Tis true, that one of the Ancients ſaith, *Cum ipſa (plebs) maxime habeat poteſtatem eligendi dignos ſacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi.* 'That the People eſpecially have 'the power of chooſing good Miniſters, or refuſing 'thoſe who are bad. He doth not mean a *juriſdiction* and *authority*, but a *liberty* of accepting or refuſing, upon juſt ground alledged touching their converſation; not as if the power, as *People*, and diſtinct from the *Miniſtery*, were in their hands: for ſo he explaineth himſelf in the ſame place; *Ut plebe præſente vel detegantur, malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur.* 'The people being preſent, that the crimes of 'thoſe that are evil may be diſcovered, and the merit 'of the godly may be declared. And a little after, he expreſſeth the ſame thing more fully, ſhewing the Form of Ordination of Miniſters in his time: *De traditione divina, & Apoſtolica obſervatione ſervandum eſt & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque & ferè per provincias univerſas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad* 7. *Cypr. l.* 1. *ep.* 4.

ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum, de ejus conversatione prospexit. That is; 'It is to be observed and kept as a 'divine and Apostolical Institution, which is also held 'by us, and *almost* in all Provinces; That for the right 'Ordination of a Minister, the Bishops of that Pro'vince do assemble unto that people unto whom the 'Bishop (or Minister) is to be ordained, and that the 'Bishop (or Minister) be ordained in the presence of 'the people, who do know perfectly the life of every 'one, and perceiveth their actions by conversing with 'them. But by this testimony it appeareth, That the Interest of the People was a liberty, from their knowledge of the life of the person, to accept or refuse; but that the Election was not wholly by them, but the Bishops (or Ministry) were to regulate the Election; which he expresseth in the Epistle before also: *Nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moneret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum judicem se non jam Episcopi, sed Dei faceret.* 'No man (saith he) would (if the Brotherhood 'did obey their *Ordinary* according to the Institution of 'Christ) move any thing (to wit, against the Bishop) 'after the Judgement of the *Colledge of Ministers*, af'ter the *divine Approbation*, after the suffrages of the '*People*, and after the consent of the other *Bishops*, *&c.* But that the People should have the power of Election of Ministers, *Calvin* cites against it, and approves the Councel of *Laodicea. Can.* 13. *Est equidem & illud (fateor) optima ratione sancitum in Laodicensi concilio, ne turbis electio permittatur: Vix enim unquam evenit, ut tot capita uno sensu rem aliquam bene componat: ut ferè illud verum est:*

Epist. 3. l. 1.

Instit. l. 4. cap. 4. s. 12.

Incertum scindi studia in contraria vulgus.

—primum soli clerici eligebant, quem elegerant offerebant magistratui—tum ad multitudinem res deferebatur

tur.—Aut si à multitudine incipiebatur, tantum id fiebat, ut sciretur quem potissimum expeteret. Auditis populorum vota, clerici demum eligebant.—Hunc ordinem ponit Leo (Epist. 87.) *expectanda sunt vota Civium, testimonia populorum, honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum.* That is; 'That truly, I confess, is with very good reason decreed by the Council of *Laodicea*, (*Can.* 13.) 'That the Election of Ministers should not be permitted to the People. For it hardly at any time comes to pass, that so many heads do with one consent compose any business well: and that is commonly true which the Poet saith:

Popular Elections not allowed.

'*The common people, being weak,*
'*To several Factions quickly break.*

'First therefore the Ministers chose, then they offered him to the Magistrate; afterward the matter was brought to the people: or if the business began with the people, it was *onely*, that they might know whom especially they desired; which when they understood, then the Clergy did choose. Thus *Calvin.*

Beza also, *De Minister. Grad. cap.* 23. *Quod tota multitudo simul fuit convocata, & suffragium tulit, nec essentiale nec perpetuum fuit. i. e.* 'That the People were called, and gave their voyce, was neither of the essence of the Call, nor perpetual. And with *us*, the Ordination of Ministers is appointed at *four times* of the year, at which time Prayer and Fasting is enjoyned; any that will are permitted to be present, *proclamation* made unto them to except against the persons to be ordained. And no *Bishop* permitted to ordain any not of his Dioceſs, without *Letters testimonial*, under pain of suspension. But if in this there may be any defect, or have been abuse; yet we are to consider that of the Church of *England*, saying, 'That in the Primitive 'Church, in the beginning of Lent, *notorious* sinners 'were put to open penance, and punished in this world; 'in stead whereof, until the said Discipline be restored, 'which thing is much to be wished, it is thought good, &c.

Book of *Canons*. *Can.* 31.

See the Book of Ordination.

Canon 34, 35.

The *Commination* at the end of the Liturgy, and at the beginning.

may

may perhaps *imply*, that it would, if it might without *greater peril*, reform ſome other things alſo, among which, this of the ſomewhat more particular approbation, or acceptation of the people, if it ſhould be found neceſſary in reſpect of their Miniſtry, might poſſibly be one. But I determine not; onely I do from the premiſſes conclude (ſeeing there is in the Miniſtries Ordination in *England* all the *eſſentials* obſerved; and that *God*, by his *bleſſing* of their Labours, and *protecting* of their Calling, declared his owning of them, whatſoever defects may be imagined in their outward Calling,) with Mr. *Brightman*, in the place above noted: *Quid ergo verbum propter labem aliquam externæ vocationis tam perverſe reſpuunt, cujus vim divinam in cordibus ſentiunt?* 'Why do they, for ſome defect in the 'external Call, ſo perverſly reject that Word and Mi'niſtry, whoſe ſoveraign and divine power they feel up'on their hearts?' I diſmiſs this particular, and paſs to the other Branch, touching the Governors of theſe, and their Regiment, the *Biſhops*.

Brightman in Apocal. 3.20.

SECT. II.

Of Epiſcopacy, its Right and Title.

IT is certain, ever ſince God had a *formal* and *inſtituted* Church, there have been *ſuperior Miniſters* in it, diſtinguiſhed alſo by ſome appellations from the reſt: As, the *High Prieſts* in the *Jewiſh*, and the *Apoſtles* in the Firſt *Chriſtian* Church. And it is as evident, that the Church *cannot want ſuch*; by the need that the Church of *Epheſus*, and thoſe adjacent, had of *Timothy*, and the Churches of *Crete* had of *Titus*: For, *Non minor eſt virtus quàm quærere, parta tueri*: A Commonwealth hath need not onely at firſt of a *Magiſtrate*, but ever after: And a Biſhop is nothing elſe but an *Eccleſiaſtical* Magiſtrate. And though times may require

1. Scripture.

1 Tim. 1.

Tit. 1.

quire ſome things or perſons extraordinary, as the Church had Apoſtles at the firſt of unlimited power; yet, as *Calvin* obſerves; *Hoc Natura dictat, Unum ex ſingulis collegiis deligendum cui præcipua cura incumbat.* *Epiſt. ad Reg. Polon.* 1554. 'Nature it ſelf, ſaith he, teacheth us, That in all orders 'of men ſome one muſt be choſen unto whom the 1. 'chief care muſt be committed. And this is the [*eſſe*] or ſubſtance of Epiſcopacy. Elſewhere he gives the reaſon of it: *Fateor quidem ut ſunt hominum ingenia & mores, non poſſe ordinem ſtare inter verbi miniſtros, quin reliqui præſit unus.* 2. *Comment. in Epiſt. ad Phil. cap.* 1. 1. 'I confeſs (ſaith he) as mens ſpirits 'and manners are, Order cannot ſtand among the Mi-'niſters of the Word, unleſs *one* be over the reſt. But he would have, *firſt*, their *juriſdiction* reſtrained, the 1. *name* of Biſhop common, and the *limits* of their Go-2. vernment confined unto one City: though afterward in 3. his Letter to the King of *Poland*, he acknowledgeth what the *primitive* Government was; and ſeemeth not to diſapprove it, as we ſhall ſee anon. And the beſt *Independent* extant hath expreſſed ſo much in my hearing, *viz. The Church would ever ſtand in need of ſuch perſons as Timothy and Titus.* D. T. G. This for *Scripture*.

Next come we to the *Primitive* Church, wherein the practice is known to be both moſt *ancient* and *univerſal*. 2. The Primitive Church. *Hierom* indeed (but without proof) being himſelf no Biſhop, and angry ſometimes with ſome of them, and particularly with *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (and even with *Auſtin* himſelf) a *paſſionate* man, and ſomewhat *high* in reſpect of his eminency for Learning, eſpecially in the *Tongues*, in thoſe times, ſaith; *Idem eſt Presbyter qui Epiſcopus; & antequam diaboli inſtinctu, ſtudia in religione fierent; & diceretur in populis, Ego ſum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ: Communi Presbyterorum conſilio Eccleſiæ gubernabantur. Poſtquam vero unuſquiſque eos quos baptizaverat ſuos putabat eſſe non Chriſti: In* toto orbe *decretum eſt, ut unus de Presbyteris electus ſuperponeretur cæteris; ad quem omnis Eccleſiæ cura pertineret, & ſchiſmatum ſemina tollerentur.* *Vid. Epiſt. Aug.* 8. *& ſeq.* *Hieron in Epiſt. ad Tit.* 1. 5.

That is; 'The ſame is a Presbyter and a Biſhop:
1 Cor. 1. 'And before that, by the inſtinct of the Devil, Factions
'began in Religion; and theſe ſpeeches were among
'the people: I am of *Paul*, I of *Apollo*, but I of *Ce-*
'*phas*: The Churches were governed by the common
'advice of the Presbyters: But after that every one
'reckoned thoſe whom hee had baptized to be his own,
'and not Chriſts: It was determined in the WHOLE
'WORLD, that *One* choſen out of the Presbyters
'ſhould be ſet over the reſt, unto whom the WHOLE
'care of the Church ſhould belong, and ſo the ſeeds of
'Schiſm ſhould be taken away; Concerning which
1. teſtimony, fore-prizing what *others* have ſaid: there
2. need not be required a better teſtimony. Firſt, it comes
3. from an *Adverſary*; next it proveth the thing it con-
1. tendeth againſt; (under favour of ſo great a perſon) for
if then, and upon that occaſion Epiſcopacy had its riſe,
when *Schiſms* began in the Church; and that one ſaid,
I am of *Paul*; another, I am of *Apollo*; and that thoſe
2. whom ſome had baptized, they counted their own
Verſ. 12, 13, 14, 15. Diſciples: And that this came to paſs even in the very
Apoſtles time, as *Paul* complains (Epiſtle to the *Corin-*
thians the firſt, chapter the firſt.) And that hee grants
3. that it was decreed in the whole world, and that for
ſo uſeful an End. It muſt follow that *Epiſcopacy* ſucceed-
ed the *Apoſtleſhip*: And indeed from the end of their
inſtitution it appears in Scripture, that they did ſo, as to
the office, by what name ſoever. For *Paul* ſaith expreſly
both to *Timothy* and *Titus*: To *Timothy*, that hee be-
ſought him to *abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *that hee might*
1 Tim. 1. 3. *charge ſome to teach no other, and no Heterodox doctrine.*
'And to *Titus*, that for this cauſe left I thee in *Crete*,
Tit. 1. 5. 'that hee might ſtop the mouths of vain (that is, erro-
'nious and ſchiſmatical) *talkers*; not onely by word,
'and by example, but alſo by authority. Hee ſo com-
Chap. 3. mands him to reject an Heretick, that is, excommuni-
cate him, as may be conceived. And indeed wee ſee
by experience in ſome Churches, thoſe that are of lati-
tude,

tude, where this *Government* of late hath been ſuſpended; what factions have grown. As in the *Netherland* Churches, about *Arminius* ſo far, that had not the Authority of the *Magiſtrate*, and aſſiſtance of *Neighbours* interpoſed, thoſe Churches, and that *Republick* had been utterly ruined; what diviſions are growing at this day among the Churches of *France* ſome adhering unto the opinion of *Amiraldus* about theſe points, others oppoſing of them. I hear with grief, and have been told that a *Miniſter* of no mean note in that Church lately in *London* (and whom I could name) ſhould ſay that ſome Miniſters of *France* ſhould *expreſs ſo much, that had their Churches full eſtabliſhment from the Civil Power, they could not govern them without Epiſcopacy*, which it ſeems both *Calvin*, *Beza*, and of late *Diodate* foreſaw, of whom afterward.

By this Teſtimony it appears Epiſcopacy to have been of greateſt *Antiquity*, *Univerſality*, and of ſuch *Neceſſity* for uſe, that without it the Churches could not be preſerved neither in *Truth* nor *Unity*. And though *Hierome* ſeem to imply, that there was ſome times when the Churches were governed without it; yet, unleſs hee mean the time of the *Apoſtles*, who were themſelves inſtead of it, no time by his own words can be aſſigned when the Church either could or did want it; neither doth hee name any certain time, or alledge any *Author*, as hee uſeth to do in caſe of *Hiſtory*; neither (under *correction* of men of larger reading) do I beleeve hee could: Seeing it is evident in the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory, and by the Monuments of the moſt *Antient* Writers, that Epiſcopacy was contiguous with the Apoſtles time, as appears by *Ignatius*, *Policarpus*, *Clemens*, *Irenæus*, and others. Whereas *Hierome* lived in the fourth Century above three hundred years after *Chriſt*. 'Tis true, Sr. *Auſtin* (that mirrour of *Modeſty and Humility*) writing unto this ſame *Hierome*, when hee had received ſome *contemptuous* expreſſions from him (as I ſaid before, that Father was a little *high*) in anſwer

Vide Euſ. Hiſt. & Hieron. de Scriptorib. Eccleſiaſt.

Aug. ad Hieron. Epiſt. 19.

answer to him, saith, *Quanquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam Ecclesia usus obtinuit, Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit: tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est*; 'Although (saith hee) according 'to titles of honour, which now the USE of the 'Church hath obtained, *Episcopacy* be superiour to '*Presbytery*; yet in many things *Austin* is inferiour to '*Hierome*. Hee saith it is by *use* of the Church that *Episcopacy* is above *Presbytery*; but hee speaketh of the difference of names and tiles, implying, that in the Scripture they have often all one *name*; as *Hierome* had proved in that Commentary upon the first of *Titus*, and elsewhere: but doth not deny nor imply that the *Office* was the same. Again, hee saith the *Use* of the Church; now this *Use* may be as antient as the *Apostles*. Lastly, Hee knew with whom hee was dealing, and on purpose composed his expression to the qualifying of *Jereme*, as appears in his other Epistles to him, hee doth not dispute *ex professo* this point. *Cyprian*, the antient of them both, in the place now cited, carries it very far for the dignity of *Episcopacy*, and the eminency of *one*, both in *Place* and *Authority*. Having proved by many examples, the preheminency of place, and duty of *Obedience*, by the Scripture, given to the *High Priests* among the *Jews*, applying to the *Bishop* in a Christian Church, hee saith, *Cum hæc tanta ac talia, & multa alia exempla præcedant, quibus Sacerdotalis autoritas & potestas, divina dignatione firmatur, quales putas esse eos, qui Sacerdotum hostes, & contra Ecclesiam Catholicam rebelles, nec præmonentis* Domini *comminatione, nec futuri judicii ultione terrentur. Neque enim aliunde hæreses abortæ sunt, aut natæ sunt schismata, quàm inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec UNUS in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus* Judex *vice Christi cogitatur: Cui si secundum Magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum Sacerdotum Collegium quicquam moneret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post Co-episcoporum consensum judicem se,*

Object.

Answ.

1. *Epist. ad Evagrium.*

2.

3. *Vide Epist. ad Hieron. 85.*

Cypr. lib. 1. Ep. 3.

non

non jam Epiſcopi, *ſed Dei faceret; nemo diſſidio unitatis Chriſti Eccleſiam ſcinderet*; that is, 'Seeing theſe ſo 'great, ſuch, and ſo many other examples have gone be-'fore, by which the authority and power of the Prieſtly 'dignity is confirmed by Gods inſtitution: what kind 'of men do you think them, who being enemies of the 'Prieſthood, and *rebels* againſt the *Catholick* Church; 'are neither terrified by Gods threatnings, nor yet with 'fear of the judgement to come. For, from no other 'cauſe do Hereſies ariſe, nor Factions in the Church 'have their beginning, than from hence; that there is 'not given obedience to the Prieſt of God (hee means 'the Biſhop, as the words following will ſhew) nei-'ther is conſidered that, for the time, there is but *One* 'Prieſt (namely chief, that ought to be) in the Church 'of God, and for the time but one *Judge* in the ſtead 'of Chriſt: To whom according to the Doctrine of 'Chriſt, did the whole Brother-hood give obedience; no 'man would move any thing againſt the Colledge of 'Prieſts (by whom the Biſhops was choſen) no man 'would make himſelf Judge, not now of the *Biſhop*, but 'of God himſelf, after that hee hath been choſen by 'the Divine Judgement, by the ſuffrage of the people '(deſired) and by the conſent of other Biſhops (con-'firmed) I urge this Teſtimony, being very antient, to ſhew the judgement of Antiquity touching Epiſco-pacy; namely, the Inſtitution, Uſe and End of it, *viz.* preſervation of *Truth* and *Peace* in the Church, as wee ſaw before out of St. *Hierome*. *Spurious* teſtimonies (though grayer-headed) I paſs not at.

Cyprian lived about the year 250.

Yea and *Hieron.* himſelf elſewhere doth imply, that a *Biſhop* might ordain, which a *Presbyter* could not do: *Quid enim facit, exceptâ ordinatione, Epiſcopus quod Presbyter non facit?* that is, 'what doth a Biſhop do, 'except *Ordination* which a Presbyter doth not? thus hee: but *Ordination* carries with it ſome *Superiour juriſdiction*. Since my writing of this, I have conſulted what *Savania* hath obſerved upon this place of *Hierome*, on *Tit.*

Hieron. Epiſt. ad Evagr. Tom. 3.

De Evangel. Miniſterium gradib. cap. 23.

(*Tit.* 1. 5. against *Beza*; and finde that his cogitations are the same, much-what, with mine (as indeed it is obvious to any one considering of it) neither do I see cause to alter them, for any thing I finde in *Beza* his reply unto them, whose judgement in this point wee shall hear anon out of the same writing: And so I dismiss the Testimony from Antiquity.

Savania.
Beza.

Proceed wee now to the Judgement of the Reformed Churches, expressed by their chief Writers, and even those who have erected *another* Government. *Calvin* (the supposed Parent of *Presbytery*, but hee was onely the *foster* Father, for *Farel* and *Viret* had before him ejected Episcopacy at *Geneva*, or rather the *Bishop*) hee, the ground being as it were vacant, raised Presbytery, or rather ripened it, in the room thereof. Hee first argues the *right* of Episcopacy (for the *substance* of it) from *Nature it self*; then acknowledges the *Necessity* of it, for the *upholding of the order of the Ministery*, from *the disposition and spirit of men*; both which wee saw above. Lastly, Though hee dislike the appropriation of the name, and the largeness of power, and the extent of their limits in that place of his Comment. upon *Phil.* 1. 1. which was published *Anno Dom.* 1548. yet hee grants the *thing*, as was noted: And in his Letter to the King of *Poland*, written long after, *viz. Ann.* 1554. Hee represents, with appearance of *Approbation*; the practice of *Antiquity*, in these words. *Vetus quidem Ecclesia Patriarchas instituit, & singulis etiam Provinciis quosdam attribuit primatus, ut hoc Concordiæ vinculo melius inter se devincti manerent Episcopi.* Quemadmodum si hod e *illustrissimo Poloniæ Regno unus præesset Archiepiscopus, non qui dominaretur in reliquos, vel jus ab illis ereptum sibi arrogaret: sed qui ordinis causâ in Synodis primum teneret locum, & sanctam inter Collegas suos & fratres foveret unitatem. Essent deinde vel Provinciales, vel Urbanis Episcopi, qui peculiariter ordini conservando intenti forent. Sicuti hoc natura dictat, unum ex singulis Collegiis eligendum, cui præcipua*

1. The Reformed Christian Churches, Judgement of Episcopacy.

1.

Calvin.

1. *Hoc natura dictat, Unum ex singulis Collegiis delegendum, cui præcipua cura incumbat. Epist. ad Pol.* 1554.

2. *Fateor quidem, ut sunt hominum ingenia & mores, non posse ordinem stare inter vos Ministros, quin reliquis præsit Unus. Præf. ad duc. Witemberg. ante Epist. ad Gal. Epist. ad Pol.* 1554.

cura

cura incumbat: ſed aliud eſt moderatum gerere honorem, quatenus ſcilicet hominis facultas ſe extendit, quàm totum orbem terrarum immenſo imperio complecti. 'The Ancient 'Church indeed (ſaith he) did conſtitute Patriarchs, and 'did appoint unto every Province a Primate (or Arch-'biſhop) that by this bond of concord the Biſhops 'might the better remain united: Even as if now there 'ſhould be one Archbiſhop over all the famous King-'dom of *Poland*; not indeed one who ſhould *Lord* it 'over the reſt, or arrogate to himſelf the *Right* which 'belongs to them; but who, for *Order's* ſake, ſhould 'occupy the chief place in Synods, and ſhould pre-'ſerve holy unity among his Brethren and Colleagues. '*Then*, either *provincial* Biſhops, or thoſe that ſhould 'be in every *City*, who ſhould eſpecially be intent to 'preſerve Order; even as *Nature* doth dictate this, 'That out of all Societies there ſhould be *one* choſen, 'unto whom the chief care ſhould belong. But it is 'one thing to bear moderate honour, and ſo far as a 'mans *ability* may extend [to govern] and another thing 'to graſp the *whole World* in a boundleſs Government, (as the Pope doth, againſt whom he there diſputeth.) Thus far *Calvin*. Wherein we ſee he would not diſ-like this Government by Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops. And in his Letter to Archbiſhop *Cranmer* he ſaith: *Reverende Domine, vehementer laudo, ut matura apud ſe religionem Angli conſtituant — in quam rem, præcipuæ tuæ ſunt partes. Vides quid iſte locus poſtulet, vel magis quid pro muneris, quod tibi injunxit ratione, abs te ſuo jure exigit Deus: ſumma eſt in te auctoritas.* 'Reverend *Lord* (ſaith he) I do very much commend, 'That the *Engliſh* do eſtabliſh Religion betimes among 'them; in which affair your part is chief. You ſee 'what your *place* requires, or rather what, according to 'the duty of your *office* which he hath put upon you, '*God Almighty*, by a ſpecial title, doth require of you. Thus he. In the ſame Epiſtle (which I note by the way, and the rather, becauſe many of the Adverſaries to

Epiſt. ad Cranmer. Ann. 1551.

this

this Government are touched by him) he notes one cause of the imperfection of the Reformation, as then, in *England*. *Unum tamen apertum obstaculum esse intelligo, quod praeda expositi sunt Ecclesiae reditus; Malum intollerabile.* That is; 'One main Obstacle I understand to be, That the Revenues of the Church are exposed to Rapine. He means, by being given unto private men. And of this sort are a great number of Adversaries to Episcopacy. But to return: In the close of that Epistle he thus expresseth himself: *Vale clarissime praesul, & mihi reverende Domine.* 'Farewel 'most excellent *Prelate*, and my *reverend Lord*. Whereby, you see, he was averse neither from the *thing* (though with some *mincing*) nor the *title* of Bishop and *Archbishop*. I have done with this worthy man.

Calvin of Impropriators.

2. Come we to his Successor *Beza*, who professedly wrote *against* Episcopacy; yet, even in that Tractate, grants as much (upon the matter) as we have need of. First, he makes good an useful ground in this and some other Controversies. *Nempe quod perpetuum & invariabile sit, quicquid Dominus instituit; falso nititur principio.* 'That what the Lord instituted, is not alway unchangeable, as he proves by the Apostolical Function, Miracles, prohibited means for a time, which are ceased. And then defines what is *essential* in Episcopacy, and perpetual, what mutable. *Essentiale fuit in eo (episcopatu) de quo hic agimus, quòd ex Dei ordinatione perpetuâ necesse fuit, est & erit, ut in Presbyterio quispiam & loco & dignitate primus, actioni gubernandae praesit, cum eo quod ipsi divinitus attributum est jure, accidentale autem fuit, quod Presbyteri in hac πρωτοκαθεδρια alii aliis per vices initio succedebant.* 'This was *essential*, 'saith he, in this (Episcopacy, of which we are speaking) That, by *Gods Ordinance* perpetual it was *necessary*, is and shall be, that in the *Presbytery* some one, 'both in place and dignity chief, should be President 'for the governing of action, with that power that is 'given unto him of God. Thus he. 1. Here is *Primacy*.

Beza de grad. minister. Evangel. adv. Seraviam.

Cap 23. *p.* 148.

1.

2.

Cap. eod p. 153.

Essentials of Episcopacy.

macy. 2. *Government.* 3. *Power*, or Right. Now the controverſie betwixt him and *Seravia*, is, what that power is. But in the third place, ſpeaking of the *Epiſcopacy* we are now diſcourſing of, he ſaith: *Abſit autem ut hunc ordinem, etſi Apoſtolicâ & merè divinâ diſpoſitione non conſtitutum, tamen ut temerè aut ſuperbe invectum reprehendam: cujus potius magnum uſum fuiſſe, quandiu boni & ſancti Epiſcopi Eccleſiis præfuerunt, quis inficiari poſſit? fruantur igitur illo qui volent & poterunt: mihi tamen religio fuerit non explicare quid hîc requiram.* Cap. eod. p. 144. 'God forbid (ſaith he) that I ſhould 'condemn this Order, although not of Apoſtolical and 'mere divine Inſtitution, as if it were brought in *raſh-* 'ly or *prondly*; whereof rather that there was *great* 'uſe, ſo long as the Biſhops were good and holy men, 'who can deny? Let them therefore enjoy it, that will 'and *can*: But yet I make conſcience to declare what 'I think defective in it. Thus he. And whereas he doth in another place call that *Epiſcopacy*, which was by courſe and ſucceſſive, divine and Apoſtolical Epiſcopacy, and the other humane; yet he ſaith, it is *not ſimply* humane, but comparatively to the other. *Priorem quidem ordinem, ut qui initio, ac proinde Apoſtolis ipſis autoribus, vel ſaltem approbatoribus vigverit, divinum: poſteriorem vero humanum* non ſimpliciter *tamen, ſed comparate appellavero.* Cap. eod. p. 142. But his Letters are extant (and (to my beſt remembrance) I have heard my Lord *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſay, That he had the *autographa* and Originals in his hands of *Beza's* Letters) wherein he doth *pray God to continue Biſhops to the Church of* England: But, as I ſaid, his *Epiſtles* are printed. I end with that Prayer and Teſtimony of his, in *his laſt* Writings, wherein, without any complaint for want of *Diſcipline* (as he had done in his former Epiſtle dedicatory to her, of 1564.) or about the *Government*, he thus cloſeth his Dedication of his fifth Edition of his Notes on the New Teſtament, 1598. to the Queen: *R. tua M. novit, ſi qua eſt ſub cœlo*

Note.

Note. *Per te datum eſt (Anglis) puræ ac ſinceræ Evangel. doctr. integra profeſſio, ad quam ſi eccleſiaſticæ diſciplin. inſtauration. adjunxeris, &c.*

extera Civitas & Eccleſia quæ de R. tua M. & tot populorum tam feliciter ſub ipſius imperio degentium ſalute & incolumitate, tum apud ſe lætetur, tum ab omnium bonorum autore, ſeriis perpetuiſque precibus petat, ut hoc perpetuum eſſe bonum velit, eam eſſe Genevam. That is; 'That 'your Majeſty may know, that if there be any Forreign 'City or *Church under Heaven*, that, both in reſpect of 'your Majeſties ſafety and welfare, and in regard of 'ſo many People that ſo *happily* live under your Go-'vernment, doth both rejoyce in themſelves, and alſo 'requeſt with ſerious and inceſſant prayers, from the 'Author of all good, that this may continue for ever; 'it is *Geneva*. If he had not, and the Church of *Geneva* (for he ſpeaks in its name) been ſatisfied with our *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Aſſemblies*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government* (at leaſt in the main) he could not have ſo ſpoken. I have done with this Author.

3. His Succeſſor (though not immediate) the renowned *Diodate*, in his Letter to the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, in his *thrice* repeated *comparative* and *ſuperlative* commendations of the glory of the *Engliſh* Church, calling it *the very eye and excellency of all the Churches*: And that it was (whileſt under *Epiſcopacy*, for that time he relates unto) in that high pitch and ſtate of *Holineſs*, and of Glory, that it did *excel and out-ſhine all the Churches upon Earth*, doth ſufficiently declare his judgement of that *Government*; which alſo (it ſeems) he diſſembled not at the *Synod of Dort*, as appears by the *margine* of that Letter, *pag.* 6. And it hath been told to my ſelf, by a perſon of credit, who was often with him at *Geneva*, that he was wholly *Epiſcopal*.

Diodate, *pag.* 3. twice, and *pag.* 11.

D. *J. B.* late Head of *Trinity* Hall, *Cambridge*. See *pag.* 286.

4. *Zanchy* hath delivered his judgement touching his allowance of this Government (though he lived under the other.) But firſt, in his Obſervations on his Confeſſion of Faith, he gives an uſeful Theorem; *viz. Fides mea* (*inquit*) *nititur cum primis & ſimpliciter verbo Dei: deinde non nihil etiam communi totius veteris Eccleſiæ conſenſu, ſi ille cum ſacris literis non pugnet.*

Zanchy Tom. 8. *Obſervat. in confeſſ. ſua Aphor.* 10, 11. *capitis* 25. *ex Buce.* 0.

My

My Faith, ſaith he, *reſteth eſpecially and abſolutely on the Word of God; and then ſomething alſo upon the common conſent of the whole Antient Church, if it be not repugnant unto the Word of God.* Then the Aphoriſm, *Credo enim quæ à piis patribus in nomine Domini congregatis, communi omnium conſenſu, citra ullam ſacrarum literarum contradictionem definita & recepta fuerunt: ea etiam (quanquam haud ejuſdem cum ſacris literis, autoritatis) à Spiritu ſancto eſſe. Quid autem certius, quàm illos Miniſtrorum ordines (Epiſcopos Archiepiſcopos Patriarchas) communi totius Reipub. Chriſtianæ conſenſu in Eccleſiâ conſtitutos receptoſq; fuiſſe. Quis autem ego ſim, qui quod tota Eccleſia approbavit improbem? &c.* 'For I beleeve thoſe things, which, by the godly 'Fathers, being aſſembled in the Name of the Lord, by 'common conſent, without any contradiction unto the 'Holy Scripture, have been defined and received; that 'thoſe things alſo (although they are not of the ſame 'Authority with the Word of God) yet, that they are 'from the H. GHOST. Now what is more certain, 'than that thoſe orders (of *Biſhops, Archbiſhops Patriarchs*, which hee had mentioned in his confeſſion, '*chap.* 25. Aphoriſm 10, 11.) of the Miniſtry, have 'been inſtituted and retained with the conſent of the 'whole Chriſtian Church. Now who am I, that I 'ſhould condemn what the *whole Church* approveth? Thus hee. Which is the more to be noted, becauſe theſe Obſervations of his were written after his confeſſion, and for declaration of it. Then having at large recited *Bucers* judgement touching the ſame things; Hee concludes. *Quid quod in Eccleſiis etiam proteſtantium non deſunt* reipſa Epiſcopi & Archiepiſcopi, *mutatis bonis Græcis nominibus in mala latina. Vocant* Superintendentes & Generales Superintendentes? *Sed ubi etiam neq; illa vetera bona Græca, neq; hæc nova malè latina nomina obtinent, ibi tamen ſolent eſſe aliquot primarii, penes* quos fere tota eſt autoritas. *Verum ubi de rebus convenit, quid de nominibus altercamur.* What? (ſaith he)

Two grounds of Faith.

Uſeful and lawful decrees of the Church from the Holy Ghoſt.

Superintendents. *Epiſcopi ſunt Archiep.*

Superintendents are Bishops and Archbishops.

'For even in the Protestant Churches, there do not 'want Bishops and Archbishops in deed and really, 'but they have changed the good Greek Names into 'ill Latine ones; they call them *Superintendents*; and '*General Superintendents*. And where neither the one 'nor the other name is used; yet there are some chief 'men, in whose *power almost all the Authority* does rest. 'Now seeing wee agree in the *thing*, why do wee 'contend about *Names*. Thus far *Zanchy*.

But as it was said of *Cæsar*, his battel with *Pompey* in his speech unto the souldiers, hee used this expression; *Miles, fieri faciam, parce Civibus altero, ad victoriam, altero ad gratiam*; 'Souldier, said hee, strike *the face*; 'spare *the Citizen*: The one expression (saith the Hi-'storian) was for victory, the other for reputation. So our Author having said enough to secure the cause, for *Episcopacy*, yet concludes, *Nen possumus nostrorum zelum non amare, qui ideo illa nomina oderunt, quia mutuunt, ne cum nominibus, vetus etiam ambitio & tyrannis cum ruina Ecclesiarum revocetur*; 'Yet I could not, saith 'hee, but love the zeal, (though hee had proved the 'thing against them) of our men, who did therefore 'hate those *names*, because they feared that with the 'names the former ambition and tyranny, to the ruine 'of the Church, would return also. But himself did not hate those names, for hee dedicates the first part of that his famous work *de Tribus Elohim*, unto the Dr. *Grindall* Archbishop then of *York*, with all his Titles, and hath other Epistles also wherein hee *stiles* him, and Bishop *Jewel* likewise, *Bishops* and *Prelates*.

Vide Epist. l. 2. Tom. 8.

5. *Melanæthon* often; *Valde reprehendimur à nostris, quod jurisdictionem Episcopis reddidimus. Nam vulgus assuefactum libertati, & semel excusso jugo Episcoporum, ægre patitur sibi rursum imponi illa vetera onera, & maximè oderunt illam dominationem Civitates Imperii. De Doctrina Religionis nihil laborant, tantùm de Regno & libertate sunt soliciti.* Again, *Cives tui ex* Norico *valde succensent nobis quod reddimus jurisdictionem Episcopis.*

Epist. l. 5. Ep. 15. Lubec.

Fremunt

Fremunt & alii ſocii & indignantur Regnum Epiſcopis reſtitui. Ego tamen etiam duriores conditiones arbitror nobis accipiendas eſſe propter publicam Eccleſiæ tranquillitatem & concordiam; ſed FATALIS *aliqua neceſſitas urget Germanos.* Again, *Utinam utinam poſſim, non quidem dominationem confirmare, ſed adminiſtrationem reſtituere Epiſcoporum; video enim qualem ſimus habituri Eccleſiam diſſolutâ* πολιτείᾳ *Eccleſiaſtica; video poſtea multo* intollerabiliorem *futuram tyrannidem, quàm antea unquam fuit adhuc, nihil adhuc conceſſimus adverſariis prater ea, quæ* Lutherus *cenſuit eſſe reddenda,* re bene ac diligenter conſiderata *ante conventum.* Again, *Quo enim jure licebat nobis diſſolvere* πολιτείαν *Eccleſiaſticam, ſi Epiſcopi concedent illa, quæ æquum eſt eosco dere? & ut liceat, certè non expedit, ſemper ita ſenſitipſe* Lutherus. *Quem nulla de cauſa quidam, ut video amant niſi quia beneficio ejus ſentiunt ſe Epiſcopos excuſſiſſe, & adeptos libertatem minimè utilem ad poſteritatem.* Again, *Velim hoc tibi perſuadeas, de me deq; multis aliis, nos optare, ut pace conſtitutâ, Epiſcoporum poteſtas ſit incolumis, & hanc plurimam prodeſſe Eccleſiis judicamus.* 'We are (ſaith 'hee) much reproved by men of our own ſide, becauſe 'wee have reſtored their juriſdiction unto the *Biſhops*; 'For the people being accuſtomed to liberty; and ha- 'ving once ſhaken off the yoak of Biſhops, can hardly 'indure thoſe old burdens to be laid on their ſhoulders 'again: But thoſe who eſpecially hate that Govern- 'ment, are the *Cities* of the Empire. As for the '*Doctrine* of Religion they minde it not, only of Lord- 'ſhip and Liberty, they are ſolicitous. Again, Thy 'Towns-men of *Noricum* (ſaith hee to another) are 'very angry with mee, for reſtoring juriſdiction to '*Biſhops*; other of our friends are in a rage alſo, and 'are highly offended that the Government is reſtored 'to the Biſhops. But for my part I think that even 'harder conditions ſhould be accepted by us, for the 'publick peace and tranquillity of the Church: But 'there is a kinde of FATAL neceſſity that hurries on

Lib. 3. Ep. 178. Vito Theodoro.

Lib. 4. Ep. 104. Camerario.

Ep. ad Epiſc. Auguſtin. Dupl. Aberd. 12. p. 115.

'the *Germanes*. Again, O I would to God, I would 'to God, I were able to restore unto the Bishops, 'not indeed their Lordly domineering (he means 'such as were exercised by some Popish Bishops) 'but their jurisdiction and government; for I 'perceive what kinde of Church wee are like to have, 'when the Church Politie and Discipline is dissolved. Note. 'And I perceive moreover a *much more intollerable* ty- 'ranny in the Church like to arise, than hitherto hath 'ever been; we have as yet yeelded nothing to the ad- 'versaries, more than *Luther* himself judged fit to be Note. 'restored, after hee had weighed the matter with dili- 'gence and care, before the Convention. Again, By what 'right can we lawfully dissolve the Church Government, 'whilst the Bishops will yeeld unto us, what they 'ought to yeeld? And if it were lawful, yet surely it is 'not expedient. And so *Luther* ever thought; whom, I 'perceive some do love for no other cause in the 'world, but for that, they see by him they have shaken 'off Episcopacy, and gotten a liberty no way useful 'unto posterity. Again, I would have thee think (saith 'hee to the Bishop of *Ausburg*) and perswade thy self 'concerning mee, and many others, that wee desire 'that peace being settled, the power of Bishops may 'continue unshaken. And this their power, wee judge 'to be specially useful for the Churches. Thus hee, as for the Tyranny hee speaks of, it happens to the Church, as to the State sometimes. For Example, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*, was a spe- cious title, yet wee know they left us not a dram of Liberty indeed. So it is easie for Tyranny to arise in the Church, under a new name, and a Wolf in a sheeps clothing. But as the former Author saith in the same *Zanch. ubi supra.* place; 'Why contend wee about *Names*, when, as 'hee hath truly noted; the *Necessity* and Use of *Epis-* 'copacy, as to the *thing* and office is acknowledged and improved in *all Christian Churches*? I have done with *Zanchy*.

Let

Let mee ſubjoyn one more, and hee of ſpecial note, and, which wee ſhould the more obſerve him for; one of the *Engliſh Reformers*, though a foreiner, it is *Bucer*, whoſe praiſes wee heard above (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.) Hear him once and again. Firſt, in that book which hee wrote and dedicated to King *Edward* the ſixth, for the ſpecial uſe of *this Church*, and Nation; and it were well it might be a little looked into the more, whoſe Title is of *the Kingdome of Chriſt*: Hee ſaith, *Jam ex perpetua Eccleſiarum obſervatione, ab ipſis jam* Apoſtolis *videmus, Viſum & hoc eſſe* Spiritui ſancto, *ut inter Presbyteros, quibus Eccleſiarum procuratio potiſſimum eſt commiſſa,* Unus *Eccleſiarum &* totius *ſacri Miniſterii curam, gerat ſingularem, eaq; curâ & ſolicitudine* cunctis *præeat aliis. Qua de cauſa* Epiſcopi *nomen, hujuſmodi* ſummis *Eccleſiarum Curatoribus eſt peculiariter attributum. Tametſi hi ſine reliquorum Presbyterorum Conſilio nihil ſtatuere debeant. Qui & ipſi propter hanc communem Eccleſiæ adminiſtrationem Epiſcopi in Scripturis vocentur —Hi enim, ſicut dignitate & demandata primaria Eccleſiarum ſolicitudine, reliquos omnes ſancti Miniſterii ordines antecedunt; ita debent voluntate & ſtudio Eccleſias rite adminiſtrandi, præ omnibus aliis flagrare, omniq; facultate eas ædificandi præpollere:* 'Now (ſaith 'hee) by the *perpetual* obſervation of the Churches, 'from the very *Apoſtles*; it ſeemed good to the *Holy* 'Ghoſt, that among the Presbyters, to whom the care 'of the Church is chiefly committed; there ſhould bee 'One, who ſhould ſpecially ſuſtain the cure and Go- 'vernment of the Churches, and of the *whole ſacred* 'Miniſtery: and in that care and burden to be before 'all other: For which cauſe the name of *Biſhop*, is attri- 'buted more peculiarly to theſe chief higheſt Rulers of 'the Churches, although they without the counſel of 'the other Presbyters ought to eſtabliſh nothing, &c 'Neither do they in *England*, for all is tranſacted in a 'Synod, choſen freely by all the *Miniſters* of the Na- 'tion, and confirmed alſo by the *Magiſtrate* and *Laity* 'in

6. *Bucer. de Regno Chriſti. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. *pag.* 67. Note.

Note. Epiſcopacy from the Holy Ghoſt. 1. 2.

Bucer in Eph. 4. Zanch. observat. in confess. suam cap. 5. Aphor. 10, 11.

'in the *Parliament*. Again, the same Author in *Ephes.* 4. quoted by *Zanchy* in the place now cited, as his Patron, in the defence of Episcopacy; where having enumerated seven parts of teaching, and applied them to the Ministry of the Word (*viz.* 1. *Reading*. 2. *Interpretation*. 3. *Observation* of Doctrine. 4. *Exhortation*, Reproof, Consolation. 5. *Catechising*. 6. *Conference* or Disputation. 7. And lastly, *Inspection* how men profit, together with praise or rebuke, reward or punishment) hee adds; *Cum itaq; adeo multiplicem operam requirat Ministerium docendi, plures etiam Ministrorum* Ordines *sunt huic Ministerio deputati* (hee speaks of the Primitive Church) *ac primi omnium Lectores, &c.* 'Seeing, saith hee, the Ministry of 'teaching, requires so many performances; there are al-'so several *Orders* of Ministers appointed to this of-'fice; and first of all Readers. Which work having highly praised, hee saith of the *English* Church: *De legendis scripturis, gratia Domino, probe constitutum est in Ecclesia Anglicana, si idonei modo constituerentur Lectores*; 'That concerning reading of Scripture, praise be 'to God, it is well ordered in the Church of *England*; 'if so be fit men were chosen for that office. Which I note, by the way, that whereas this grave Author, and all the Primitive Church made so high reckoning of *publick reading*; by our late *Deformers* it hath been almost laid aside; And *God* must be heard but in few, because *themselves* had things of more consequence to communicate, and that beyond either measure for time, or modesty for the peoples patience, or wisdome, considering their weakness. (I excuse not my self) forgetting that *nulli magis vacuos Lectores demittunt, quàm qui nimia copia obruunt*; and that of my Host in *Chaucer* to the Parson before his Sermon:

Praefat. ad notas de Dieu in Vet. Test.

Weeth' fructuous, and that in little space,
And to do well, soe God gibe you his grace: Therefore as * another hath it, and an elegant Preacher: Brevis Prædicatio, longa ruminatio, actio perpetua.

* Sam. Ward. Happiness of practice in the close.

But

But to return to our Author. Speaking *de* Diſciplina Clericali, of the Diſcipline of the Miniſtry, hee ſaith: *Tertia Diſciplinæ Clericalis pars eſt*, Subjectio peculiaris, *qua Clerici Gradus, & Miniſterii inferioris, ſe ſubjiciunt illis qui ſunt in ordine & Miniſterio ſuperiore. Hanc Diſciplinæ partem docuit Dominus nos, & exemplo ſuo cum vult ſuos ſic committi invicem, & cohærere ut membra in corpore—ſubjicit ſane, unumquemq; ſuorum aliis, à quibus tanquam à membris amplioris ac latius patentis virtutis & efficaciæ, cuſtodiatur, moveatur & regatur. Idem præcipit Spiritus S. Subjicimini invicem in timore Dei*, Eph. 2. 21. *Iſta itaq; conſiderantes ſancti olim patres, enm in clero ordinem deſcripſerunt, ut cæteri omnes Clerici à* Presbyterio *ſingulari cura cuſtodirentur & Gubernarentur. Inter Presbyteros vero* Epiſcopos, *ut conſul inter Senatores Reipubl. ita hic primam, cum* totius *Eccleſiæ, tam ſingulariter ordinis* Clericalis Univerſi *curam gereret, atq; cuſtodiam—conſtituerunt ſancti patres ut Epiſcopi cujuſq; provinciæ, convenirent una cum Preſbyteris, bis in anno, deque Chriſti Doctrina atq; Diſciplina inquirerent.—Ut hæ vero Synodi recte & ordine adminiſtrarentur, voluerunt illis præeſſe & convocandis & moderandis*, Metropolitas, *Epiſcopos cujuſq; Metropolis—His Metropolitanis Epiſcopis injunxerunt curam quandam & ſolicitudinem omnium Eccleſiarum—nihil judicii illis conceſſum erat, quod ſua propria autoritate exercerent in Eccleſiis, quæ ipſæ ſuos haberent Epiſcopos.* Omne enim & in plebem & in clerum udicium, erat penes ſuum cujuſq; Eccleſiæ Epiſcopum & Presbyterium: Epiſcopos autem judicabit Synodus—*Conſiderentur quæ Cyprianus ad Steph. Roman. de Martiano Epiſcopo Arelatenſi, lib. 3. Epiſt. 13. tum illa q. ſcripſit in Epiſt. 3. lib. 1. de deſtributa cuiq; Epiſcoporum certâ gregis portione; & quæ præfatus eſt, & in concil. Carthaginenſi, ut ſcripſit ad Quirinum. Porro, ubi orbis Eccleſiis refertus fuit, ac ipſi quoq; Metropolitani ſua ſingulari cura opus haberent. Nec enim prout cæperant eſſe plurimi, ita omnes pro ſuo loco, vel ſapiebant, vel vigilabant*

(*pauci enim semper & in omnibus hominum ordinibus præstantes*) *Episcopis quibusdam primarum Ecclesiarum aliquot provinciarum cura demandata est—quos postea vocaverunt* Patriarchas, *&c.* 'That is to say. The third 'part of Discipline Ministerial, is *special Subjection*, 'whereby the degrees of the Ministry of inferiour or- 'der, do submit themselves to those that are in a supe- 'riour *Order*, and Ministry. This part of Discipline our 'Lord taught us by his own example [namely, among 'his Disciple] for seeing hee will have all his so to 'cleave together, as the members of one body; hee hath 'therefore subjected every one of his to others, by whom 'as by members of more ample power and activity, they 'may be kept, moved, and governed. And the same 'doth the Holy Ghost command, *Submit your selves one to* 'another in the fear of God, Eph. 5. 21. These things there- 'fore being considered by the holy ancient Fathers, they 'appoint this order amongst the Clergy, *viz.* that all 'those of inferiour order [as those hee named before, 'Readers, Chanters, Deacons, &c.] should by special 'charge be governed by the Presbytery, and cared for. 'But among the Presbyters, or Ministers themselves, 'the *Bishop*, as a *Consul* among the Senators of a Com- 'mon Wealth, so hee should have the *chief* charge '(and custody) care and government both of the *whole* 'Church, and also more specially of *all the Clergy Uni- 'versally*—And the holy Fathers decreed, that the 'Bishops of each *Province* should with their Ministers or 'Presbyters meet twice in the year at least, and consi- 'der of Christs Doctrine and Discipline, or Govern- 'ment—Now that these convocations might bee admi- 'nistred the more orderly, they appointed for the cal- 'ling and moderating of them, *Metropolitanes*, that is, 'the Bishops of every Metropolis or chief City—To 'these Metropolitanes they injoyned a certain inspe- 'ction and care of all Churches [to wit within their 'several Provinces] But they gave unto them no 'jurisdiction, which they should execute in those 'Churches

Subjection of inferiour degrees in the Ministry.

The ground of it.

Primative Ch. practice.

Presbytery.

Episcopacy.

Synods.

Metropolitanes.

'Churches that had Bishops of their own. *For all the 'jurisdiction, both over the people, and over the Mini-'stry, did belong to the Bishop of each Diocess, with his 'Presbytery.* But *the Bishops themselves were judged by 'the Synod.* Moreover, when the world began to be 'filled with Churches, and the *Metropolitanes* them-'selves stood in need of particular Government over 'themselves; for although they grew in number, yet 'all were not according to their places, either prudent, 'or vigilant *(for in all orders of men, those of worth are 'but few)* the Fathers did commend the care of whole '*Provinces* together unto certain Bishops of the chief 'Cities, which persons they afterward called *Patri-'archs.* Thus far *Bucer* there. And after noting the a-'buse of these powers, and the usurpation of them by 'the Bishops of *Rome*, whom hee calleth Antichrist, (which I note to evidence that a man may be full for Episcopacy, yea and *Archiepiscopacy*, and yet be as full against *Popery*, which some should mark) hee subjoyns what is very considerable in these times, *viz. At quia omnino necesse est, ut singuli Clerici suos habeant proprios Custodes & Curatores,* instaurenda *est, ut* Episcoporum, *ita et* Archidiaconorum, aliorumq; omnium, quibuscunque censeantur nominibus, *quibus portio aliqua commissa est custodiendi gubernandiq;* Cleri *authoritas, potestas; sed & vigilantia & animadversio, ne quis omnino sit in hoc ordine* ἀφρούρητος. 'But because, saith hee, 'it is altogether *necessary*, that *every* Minister and Cler-'gy man should have their proper Guardians and Go-'vernours; both the Authority of *Bishops*, and of *Arch-'deacons*, and of all * other officers, by *what names so-'ever* they be called, unto whom any part of the power 'of guarding and governing the Ministry is committed, 'ought to be restored. As also watchfulness and ob-'servation, least any man whatsoever of this profession, 'be without government, and not under rule. Thus far hee. With whose testimony, not onely for his learning and piety (both which were eminent in him) but

Jurisdiction of the Bishops.

Patriarches.

Note.

Bishops Archdeacons.

*As Metropolitanes, &c.

Vide Bucer. Script. Anglican.

also for his reference to *this* Church (as having been one of the reformers of it) I close these Allegations and Witnesses. Onely adding this; That had the *Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas, observed this counsel of these (their *own*) learned men; they had not given that advantage to the adversary, by making a *Schism* in *Government* from the whole *Universal* Church, scandalizing *it* also. Nor had they given occasion to those, who out of true or pretended *imitation* of them, have brought *Scotland*, and by it *England* (the *glory* and *refuge* of the Reformed Churches) and by both, *Ireland* into those horrid confusions which have fallen upon them, upon that quarrel; as is noted by (*a*) one who well knew; and is not denyed by (*b*) others, who had no small activity in blowing those fires, some coals whereof they have still retained, and by them attempted to kindle new flames, as is noted by (*c*) another Authentique Author.

(a) *Icon. Basilic. Medit.* 17.
(b) Ministers Reasons for Reformation. 1660. in the Preface.
(c) Kings Declaration. *Oct.* 5. 1660. pag. 7.

And for those our *Brethren*, who had destroyed this Government among us; it is to be feared it may be (in many of them) upon the like ground that the *Rabbin*, saith the Jew (the body of them, for so hee expoundeth that Prophecy, which the *Chaldee* Version applies to the *Messiah*, as wee do) was slaughtered in the captivity, whilst hee explains those word: *with the rich in his death*: Hee saith it was:

D. *Kimchi* in Isa. 53. 9.

בעבור רשע שהיה בו Nor,
בעבור עושר שהיה לו But,

Which sentence, because it is in Rhyme, wee may thus render,

The Wether had no fault, but that
His fleece was good, and hee was fat.

Mark 12. 7. According to this; *Come let us kill him, and the Inheritance shall bee ours*: As it hath appeared since.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Exceptions against the Government and Diſcipline.

THe Brethren, the Authors of the former Tract, except alſo againſt the *Government* and *Juriſdiction* of the *Biſhops*. Firſt, That it is not by *Divine Right* in this Nation, 'but that, the *Church of England* is found-'ed in the eſtate of Prelacy, within the Realm of *Eng-'land* by *Law*, and authority of *Parliament* onely. Where firſt we accept of their Conceſſion. *Prelacy*, then (our Church Government by *Epiſcopacy*) is eſtabliſhed by *Law* in this Nation. Now if they have this office by *Law*, they muſt alſo have a power for the Execution of it, as a *Prelacy*, that is, a ſuperiour order of men to govern in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which is their *juriſdiction*, and power to exerciſe Diſcipline. But the Brethren reply, that this is taken away by the Act of 17th. *Carol.* I. 11. wherein their ſitting in Parliament is removed, and the power of the King to authorize Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; which was granted by an Act 1. *Eliz. cap.* 1. 'And that there is 'not any branch or clauſe in that whole Act that gives '*more*, or *other* juriſdiction to Biſhops, or any other Ec-'cleſiaſtical perſons whatſoever. But Anſwer, unto this is given elſewhere in this Treatiſe; therefore I leave it here, and come to that, which is more material, *viz.* The *Divine Right*, at leaſt by *conſequent* of that function. Which having evidenced ſo plentifully before; out of both *Ancient* and *Modern* Teſtimonies (and thoſe of ſome the greater Lights of the *Reformed* Churches.) And replyed to the *Objections* on the contrary; And particularly, becauſe the Brethren do not here oppoſe it; I ſhall need to ſay the leſs: Onely take a verdict from one whom ſome of the Brethrens opinion, cite as a witneſs, which is St. *Cyprian*. Which will at once carry with it both the *Divine Right*,

Reaſons of the neceſſity of Reformation. p. 40.

Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed by *Law* in *England*. 25. *Edw.* 3. *Anno* 1350.

Object.

Reaſ. neceſ. ref. Pag. 51.

and also the inseparable adjunct of it, though not a *sole*, yet a *superiour jurisdiction*: For that of *sole jurisdiction* seems a needless quarrel, seeing the Bishop doth neither exercise any part of it alone, but with others assistance; and without which assistance hee cannot orderly administer it. And the Church declares her self, whilst shee appointeth in the ordering of *Priests*, and consecrating of Bishops (one of the greatest Acts pertaining to Government) that there shall be other also assistant to the Bishop in *Imposition* of hands. Though in that lesser point of *Confirmation* of Children, and ordering of *Deacons*, it is not so appointed, though not excluding it. But, as I said, *Cyprian* hath these words: *Neque enim aliunde haereses aborta sunt, aut natae sunt Schismata, quàm inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, Nec* Unus *in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus* Judex *vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secundum Magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas* Universa, *nemo adversus* Sacerdotum *Collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post* divinum *judicium, post populi suffragium, post Coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se non* jam *Episcopi sed* Dei *faceret: Nemo dissidio unitatis Christi Ecclesiam scinderet, &c.* 'For from no other root (saith hee) either Heresies spring, or Schisms do arise, than from 'this: That *Obedience* is not given to the Priest or Mi-'nister of God (so hee calls the Bishop by way of emi-'nency, as the words following declare) And that it 'is not considered, that, there is for the time but *One* 'Priest, and but ONE JUDGE in *Christs* stead. To 'whom, if the WHOLE Church, according as the 'Scripture hath appointed, were obedient; no man 'would move any thing against the Colledge of *Minis-'ters*; no man, after *Gods* sentence, the *peoples* suf-'frage (election or approbation) after the consent of 'the other Bishops; would make himself Judge; not 'now of the *Bishop*, but of *God* himself. In which Testimony, onely by the way noting, that *populi suffragium*, must be, according to *Calvins* observation, not

Cypr. lib. 1. Ep. 3. Vide & in eand. sentent. ipsi. lib. 3. Ep. 1.

Let not the Reader nauseate this once or twice repetition of this Testimony.

Non Crambe bis cocta; haec bis repetita placebunt.

In Musick, streins often repeated are; In mental harmony, why is't a jarr?

properly

properly, an *Election* (though in a large ſenſe it may be called ſo, according to that of the former Author elſewhere: *Quum ipſa (plebs) maxime habeat poteſtatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi.* L. 1. *Ep.* 4. 'That the people have chief right either to chuſe good 'Miniſters, or of refuſing thoſe that are bad) But either a *ſignification* of their deſire whom they would have; or elſe an *approbation* of the Election made by the *Biſhops*, and confirmed by the *Magiſtrate*. So *Calvin*. *Eſt quidem illud, fateor, optimâ ratione ſancitum in Laodicenſi concilio, ne* turbis *electio permitteretur—primum ſoli Cleritci eligebant—offerebant Magiſtratui—tum ad multitudinem res deferebatur—Aut ſi à multitudine incipiebatur, tantum id fiebat, ut ſciretur quem potiſſimum expeteret.* Inſtit. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. *ſ.* 12. *Cap.* 13. *Laodic. Council.* 'It is (ſaith hee) I confeſs, excellently de-'creed in the Councel of *Laodicea*, that the election of 'Miniſters ſhould not be permitted to the people. But 'firſt the Clergy did chuſe; then they preſented him to 'the Magiſtrate; and laſtly hee was propounded to the 'people, *&c.* But this occaſionally onely, to prevent miſtaking. As to the former Teſtimony of *Cyprian*; out of it wee learne, First, That the eminency of one Miniſter above the reſt in Government, is of *Divine Inſtitution. Poſt Judicum divinum.* Secondly, That hee being choſen, hath a *ſole ſuperiour* power of judgement in the Church, to whom all muſt be obedient. I ſay not, hee hath a *ſole* power abſolutely, but a *ſole ſuperiour* power over all within his Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, by this *Teſtimony* (whatſoever is to be ſaid of the thing it *ſelf*) according to the *Word of God*. And indeed the liberty or advantage that Civil *Laws* give of exerciſing Epiſcopal Authority, doth not imply they have no other. The Church hath taught us they may concur. '*Will you*—ſuch as be unquiet, diſobedient and crimi-'nous within your Dioceſs, correct and puniſh accord-'ing to ſuch *Authority as yee have by Gods Word*; and as 'to you ſhall be committed by the *Ordinance of this* 'Realm, Book of Conſecrat. Q. At the conſecrat. of a Biſhop.

1.

2.

in *order* or *degree* (which at preſent wee diſpute not) be according to Scripture, as before hath been ſhewn; Government and Juriſdiction cannot bee ſeparated from it; although the Laws ſhould not confer any, yea forbid it; ſeeing the Church cannot ſubſiſt without Government (which cannot be exerciſed *regularly* without Biſhops.) The ſame *Cyprian*, and in the ſame Epiſtle now cited; ſhewing it to be the deſign of *Satan*, in ſetting men to oppoſe godly *Biſhops*, that ſo hee may deſtroy Diſcipline, and by that, the Church it ſelf, ſaith: *Apparet quis impugnet, non ſcilicet* Chriſtus *qui Sacerdotes aut conſtituit aut protegit; ſed ille qui Chriſti adverſarius, & Eccleſiæ ejus inimicus. Ob hoc Eccleſiæ præpoſitum ſua infeſtatione perſequitur, ut Gubernatore ſublato, atrocius atq; violentius circa Eccleſiæ naufragia graſſetur.* 'It appears (ſaith hee) who oppoſeth the 'Biſhop; to be ſure not *Chriſt*, who either appointeth 'or protecteth Biſhops. But hee who is *Chriſts adverſary*, and his Churches enemy; for this end perſe-'cutes and infeſts the Church Ruler, that the *Pylot* 'being taken off, hee might with greater cruelty and 'violence make ſpoil and ſhipwrack of the Church. 'Thus far *Cyprian*. And this here, for the *Right* of this office in humane and divine.

Cypr. lib. 1. Ep. 3.

Who it is, and upon what deſign, that oppoſeth *Epiſcopacy*.

SUBSECT. II.

THe next is, whether it bee a diſtinct *Order* from, or a ſuperiour *Degree* above the Presbytery, or ordinary *Miniſtry*. Touching the judgement of the Church of *England*, in which point, there need not be any great controverſie, if men, that have little elſe to defend themſelves, were not too captious of *words*. Of which ſort of controverſies, the Apoſtle giveth warning, *viz. That wee ſhould not ſtrive about words without profit.* The Preface to the Book of *Ordination* of Miniſters ſaith: 'It is evident to all men diligently reading holy 'Scripture, and *Ancient* Authors, that from the Apoſtles time

Whether Epiſcopacy be a different order. Neceſſ. Ref. p. 42.

2 Tim. 2. 14. *Anſw.* 1.

Preface to the Book of Ordination.

'time there have been THESE ORDERS of Miniſters 'in Chriſts Church; Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, 'which offices were evermore had in ſuch reverent eſti-'mation that no man by his own private authority might 'preſume to execute any of them. Where it is plain, that ſaying *theſe Orders*, and then naming *three*, it is as much as if it had ſaid; 'Theſe *three Orders*, which is the 'Exception the *Brethren* have againſt it. And becauſe it 'calleth them preſently *Offices*. But that altereth not what it ſaid before; for every *order* is an *office*, and e-very *office* is in ſome *order*. Again, they evidently pre-varicate, for whereas they ſay that the paſſage. 'Al-'mighty God—which haſt appointed *divers orders* of '*Miniſters* in the Church, or in thy Church is in *one* 'prayer at the conſecration; namely, of a *Biſhop*. It muſt be noted, that it is three times in the book, *viz.* At the ordering of a Deacen, of a Prieſt, and conſecra-ting of a Biſhop. Now applying this word in prayer *divers orders* of *Miniſters*; to every one of thoſe offices, Can any man in his *conſcience* doubt, but that they took them for ſeveral orders who compiled the book? and which being confirmed *by Parliament*, and *Convocation*, 8. *Eliz. cap.* 1. is the judgement of the *Church of England* in this point, although it doth not every time it mentions the Biſhop, name order, but ſometime Office and Miniſtry. That the book calls the inauguration of a Biſhop, not an *or-dering*, but a *Conſecration*, doth not overthrow what they ſaid in the *Preface*, and in the *Prayer*; in both which the book ſpeaks of them, as of ſeveral orders, as wee ſaw but now; for that word of *Conſecration* is uſed for *honours* ſake onely, as being the ſeparation of a perſon to a more eminent order. If the Brethren could make advantage of it, they might by the ſame *Logomachy*, prove, that *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, are *conſecrated alſo*; for the Title of the Book ſaies: The form and manner of *conſecrating Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*. *Ergo* Prieſts and Deacons are *conſecrated*, as well it may bee ſaid, as that Biſhops are conſecrated,

Conſecration of Biſhops.

therefore not *ordered*. This for the judgement of the *Church of England*, and of the *Articles* (whereof the book of Ordination is a branch) unto which the Brethren as it ſeems have alſo ſubſcribed. For revolting from which, they have merited the *cenſures* of the Church, but that, they ſay, thoſe *Canons* have now no powders; but there may bee ſome in making. If *Linwood* and *Anſhelme* ſay, that Epiſcopacy is not an *order*, *diſtinct* from Presbyters; wee are to note, that theſe and many ſtreams like, have but *one head*, which when it iſſued out this, was a little troubled, it is St. *Hierom*, whom in this they follow, and whoſe *words* they uſe. Who being provoaked by *John* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, took occaſion warmly to make that a *general* note, which hee had but from a few *particular* inſtances, and the latitude of the word *Biſhop* in Scripture. That becauſe there was not at that time any one ſo conſtituted at *Epheſus*, when *Paul* left that Church; therefore there was not one afterward, when *John* wrote his *Revelation*, and Chriſt ſent the meſſage to the *Angel*, eſpecially of that Church. To ſay that Angel was the *company* of the Miniſters, is to beg the queſtion, not to anſwer the proof. Alſo, becauſe there was none *one while* more ſpecially deſigned by *Paul* at *Philippi*, or at leaſt ſpoken to; therefore, there was none at *Coloſſe*, when as the Apoſtle directs his ſpeech to bee delivered to *Archippus*. To ſay there was no other Miniſter there, is to avoid what can not by ſuch evaſion be eſcaped. *Epheſus* had a Biſhop, or call him what you will, a ſuperiour Governour to all the Miniſters, when *Timothy* was there; and ſo had the Iſle of *Crete*, when *Titus* governed it. When the Apoſtle admoniſheth the *Hebrews* to obey *them* that have the Rule over them, doth it exclude the government of *James*, or of *Peter*, to whom *Paul* applyed himſelf as the pillars and rectors of that Church. A ſpeech uttered to *many*, doth not ſhut out the precedency of ſome *one* among them. The word *Deacon* is ſometime applyed to the *Apoſtles* themſelves,

Artic. 36.

Can. 38.

Linwood conſtitut. *Auſhelm* in Ph. l. 1.

Ad Evagr. Tom. 2. *& in Ep. ad Tit.* 1.

Act. 22.

Apoc. 2.

1 Tim. 1.

Tit. 1.

Heb. 13.
Act. 15.
Gal. 2.
1 Cor. 3. 5.
2 Cor. 3. 6.
Eph. 6. 21.
Rom. 13. 4.
ap. 15. 8.

ſelves, and to the *Evangeliſts*. And to the *Magiſtrate*; and to *Chriſt* himſelf. So the word *Epiſcopacy*, ſometimes ſignifies viſitation in general, in the Scripture; ſometimes the office of *Apoſtleſhip*. *And his Biſhoprick let another take*; and ſometimes the office of a Biſhop or *Paſtor*, or *Presbyter*. Hee that deſireth the office of a *Biſhop*. But this latitude of the *Word* in Scripture, impedeth not, but that the *thing*, now underſtood thereby, may be in Scripture diſtinct from that of Presbyter, and is, in all thoſe places and perſons, where and who had juriſdiction over other Miniſters, as the Apoſtles, the Evangeliſts; and others ſuch as *Timothy* and *Titus* were. But that *Hieron.* even when hee diſputes upon the *Word*, was not ſo clear againſt the *thing*, appears, in that hee ſaith; Presbyter & Epiſcopus *aliud ætatis, aliud dignitatis eſt nomen. Unde & ad Timotheum, de ordinatione* Epiſcopi & Diaconi *dicitur, de Presbyteris omnino reticetur, quia in* Epiſcopo, *& Presbyter continetur—Et ut ſciamus traditiones Apoſtolicas ſumptas de Veteri Teſtamento; Quod Aaron & filii ejus atq; Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, & Presbyteri & Diaconi vendicent in Eccleſia.* 'The name 'ſaith hee) of Presbyter and Biſhops; the one is a 'title of *years*, the other of *dignity*: Whence it is, that 'in the Epiſtle to *Timothy*, there is mention made of 'the ordination of a Biſhop and a Deacon (by the way note, that *Antiquity* doth name the *conſecration* of a Biſhop, *ordination*, which the Brethren deny) but 'there is no mention there of the ordination of a *Preſ-* 'byter, becauſe that in a Biſhop, a Presbyter, is alſo con- 'tained. And that wee may underſtand the *poſto-* 'lical traditions, taken out of the Old Teſtament; look 'what *Aaron* and his *Sons*, and the *Levites* were in the 'Temple. Let the *Biſhops*, and he *Presbyters*, and the 'Deacons challenge unto themſelves in the Church; where firſt we have as much diſtinction yeelded, as was betwixt *Aaron* and his *Sons*, and the *Levites*; between the Biſhops, and Presbyters, and Deacons. Secondly,

Luk. 19. 44. 1 Pet. 2. 12.

Act. 1. 20.

1 Tim. 3.

Ep. ad Evagr. in ipſo fine.

Conſecration an Ordination.

Hieron. judgement of Epiſcopacy, whilſt he diſputes againſt it.

1.

2.

2. That this distinction is *Apostolical*, and grounded on the *equity* of the orders of the Ministery in the Old Testament; so that it is agreeable unto Scripture, both
3. in the Old and New Testament. Thirdly, That the word Bishop is used for Presbyter sometimes, because it comprehends it: But hee doth not say it is comprehended also of it.

SUBSECT. II.

2. *Answ.* BUt wee may quit this controversie about the distinction of the *orders* of Episcopacy and Presbytery; for the question is of the *power*, which of men in the same degree is not alwaies the same. When the same Father saith in the same Epistle, *Quid enim facit*
Ep. ad Evagr. *excepta ordinatione, Episcopus quod non facit Presbyter?* 'What doth a Bishop excepting *Ordination*, which a 'Presbyter doth not? and where elsewhere hee saith; That imposition of hands, or confirmation of the Baptized, was proper to the Bishops, though hee qualifie it, by saying that it was done *ad honorem potius Sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*, 'for the honour of the *Priesthood* (for so by way of excellency hee often, as also other of that time call *Episcopacy*, as we saw above out of *Cyprian*) rather, than by necessity of the institution. 'And when in the former Epistle, and elsewhere, hee
Ad Evagr. in Tit. cap. 1. saith: *In* toto orbe *decretum est ut unus de Presbyteris electus, superponeretur cæteris, ad quem* omnis *Ecclesiæ cura pertineret & Schismatum semina tollerentur*: 'That 'it was *decreed* through the *whole* world, that one should 'be elected out of the Presbyters, and set *over* the rest, 'unto whom the *whole care* of the Church should be-'long, and the seeds of Schism taken away. Also, *Ec-*
Hieron. adv. Luciferian. Circ. Med. *clesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotii dignitate pendet: cui si non* exors *quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur* Potestas, *tot in Ecclesiis efficientur Schismata, quot Sacerdotes; unde venit ut sine* Chrismate & Episcopi Jussione, *neq;* Presbyter, *neq;* Diaconus jus *habeant baptizandi*: 'The

safety

'safety of the Church (saith hee) depends upon the 'dignity of the chief Priesthood (so hee calls Episcopa-'cy) unto which unless there be granted, an *exempted*, 'and above *all* eminent *power*; there will bee so many 'Schisms in the Churches, as there are Priests; whence 'it comes to pass, that without the Ordination '(*Chrismate*) and Authority (*Jussione*) of the Bishop, 'neither *Presbyter*, nor *Deacon* hath power to baptize. Which last words, exclude the notion of this place, its being understood of *Christs*. Again, *Ut Pontifices Christi, qui tamen rectam fidem prædicant, non* Dominorum *metu, sed* Patrum *honore reveremur—non sumus tam inflati cordis, ut ignoremus quid debeatur Sacerdotibus Christi, &c.* 'That wee may (saith hee) those namely, which 'preach the Orthodox Faith, prosecute such Bishops 'not with the fear of Masters, but the honour of Fa-'thers. For wee are not so *swollen with pride*, that wee 'understand not what is due to the Priests of God. Now in these places: Although hee do sometimes imply *Episcopacy* to be of divine Authority, as where he compares it to the office of *Aaron*. Sometimes *Apostolical*, as where hee saith it of *their Tradition*. And sometimes *Ecclesiastical* (but by the Authority of the whole world) yet in all, hee acknowledgeth such power in the Bishop to do that in the Church, that *none other* may either in the *nature* of the thing (as the extirpation of Schisms, which could not be done before) or in the *right* of Authority, as *Ordination*, and imposition of hands; without which the *Presbyters* have no power at all, not so much as to baptize. So that let Episcopacy and Presbytery differ in order or in *degree* onely; so long as some main parts of *Jurisdiction* can be performed onely by him, or not without his *pre-eminent* Authority; why struggle wee with that truth, and that sword of the Spirit, on which edge soever whereof wee fall, wee are certainly wounded. The *General* is but a souldier (to use the *Brethrens* own comparison) but may hee not do something that a common souldier, yea the *whole*

Ad Theophilum adverſ. Error. Jo. Heroſ. Tom. 2.

Council of Commanders cannot do? So the *Pylot* in a ſhip, not onely for his skill, but for his place. *Magiſtrates* may be ſaid all to bee in the ſame *order*, and to differ in *degree* onely; But what *Proteſtant* is ſo weak of head, and wilde of heart, as to top *Tyburn* for denying the *Kings Supremacy*. It being granted that there is the ſame uſe of a *Biſhop* in the *Church* as of an Emperour, *or Commander* in chief in an *Army* (*For the Church is an Army with banners*) as both *Hieron.* and the Brethren yeeld; the queſtion is not in what *rank* or *file*, but in what *place* and *power*. Not what *Name*, but what *Authority* hee hath. But too too much of this *Criticiſm*.

Cant. 6. 4.

SUBSECT. III.

Neceſſit. Ref. p. 44.

TO that which the Brethren oppoſe, *viz.* That there are examples of *Ordination* in the *New Teſtament* without a Biſhop, if the aſſertion were ſtrong yet is the proof weak. For the laying on of the hands of *Simeon Niger*, of *Lucius of Cyrene*, and *Manaen* mentioned, upon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, was no *Ordination*; for the one was an *Apoſtle*, and the other an *Evangeliſt* before. It was but a *ſpecial* and ſolemn miſſion, in which caſe, laying on of hands was uſual in that * *Nation*, even by thoſe who were not properly Eccleſiaſtical men, as *Jacob* laid his hands upon *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeth*; and even among our ſelves, wee often lay our hands on the head of a childe, when wee pray *God* to bleſs him. This impoſition of hands therefore doth not argue *Juriſdiction* in this place, but the ſymbol of *Bleſſing*. For if it were, and *that without controverſie the leſs is bleſſed of the greater*: Then muſt theſe Brethren be *ſuperiours* to the *Apoſtle Paul* and *Barnabas*, none of them being an Apoſtle themſelves, which I ſuppoſe the Brethren will not ſay. *Our Saviours* laying his hands upon the children, and bleſſing them, was according to the *cuſtome*, though with more than common efficacy and authority,

Act. 13. 1.

Impoſition of hands.

* *Eam (ceremoniam) mutuati fuerant Apoſtoli ex veteri gentis ſuæ conſuetudine. Cal. in* 2 Tim. 1. 6. Heb. 7.

Mat. 18.

That

That afterward it was applied to *Ordination*, and by a *Metonymy* ſet for Ordination it ſelf, doth not make it proper unto that, but makes that the more *ſolemn* by this. Again, it might be ſaid that theſe named in the Church of *Antioch*, were *Prophets*, as the Text calls them, and Teachers, but ſuch as were *Apoſtolical* men, ſuch as *Barnabas*, who afterward viſited in his own name (being accompanied by *John*, *Mark*, for ſocieties ſakes) the Churches of *Cyprus*, and 'tis like, ſeveral others alſo. So that ſuch perſons are ſometime called *Apoſtles*; *Andronicus* and *Junia* were of note among 'the Apoſtles. *Titus* and the Brethren ſent to *Hieruſa-* 'lem are ſaid to be the *Apoſtles* (ſo in the original) of the 'Churches. And ſome were tryed, which ſaid they were *Apoſtles*, but were not; which could not be underſtood of the *Twelve*, nor of *Paul*. Thirdly, What might be done by extraordinary power or precept of the Holy Ghoſt, doth not prejudice the obſervation of order, where there is no ſuch foundation. Elſe every man that ſees ſuch a thing as *Phinees* did, might do preſent execution. Fourthly, What might be done, by ſuch as were no Biſhops, where no Biſhop was appointed, doth not juſtifie the uſurpation of thoſe, who contemn ſuch Authority. *Moſes* did conſecrate, before *Aaron* was inſtituted, but afterward it had been intruſion for him ſo to do. And the *young men* did ſacrifice before the inſtitution of the Prieſthood, might they do ſo alſo afterward? That *Timothy* was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the *Presbytery*, The text ſaith: But *Calvin* ſaith, that hee rather thinketh it was the office, than the Colledge of the Presbyters. But howſoever, yet this excludes not the *Apoſtles* preſence, who elſewhere ſaith it was *by the Impoſition of his hands*. Yea ſo, that *huc magis inclinat conjectura unum tantum fuiſſe, qui manus imponeret*: 'That the conjecture leads, rather to 'think, that *one onely* laid on hands (though in the 'name of the reſt) ſaith Mr. *Calvin*. Which may obſtruct the Brethrens confidence, that ſay; there is no

1 Tim. 5.

Act. 15.

Rom. 16. 7.

2 Cor. 8. 23.

Rev. 2. 2.

3.

Numb. 23.

4.

Exod. 24.

1 Tim. 4. 14. *Calvin in loc.*

2 Tim. 1. 6.

Sole Ordination.

example

example in Scripture of *ſole Ordination*; but for this we contend not. 'To ſay that the Ordination by the Pres-'byters, made him a *Preaching Presbyter* and *Biſhop* (as 'the Brethren do) and that of *Paul* made him an *E-'vangeliſt*; is to make him twice ordained, which is not 'once proved, and therefore may as eaſily be denied. This for that they produce out of the *Goſpel*.

To what they ſay from *Law*, *viz.* 'That the Statute '13. *Eliz.* 12. binding all men not ordained by the 'Ordination book to ſubſcribe the *Articles* before the 'feaſt of the nativity then coming, and the Brethren thence inferring, that the Law did not intend to binde all to this form of Ordination. It is eaſie to ſee, that the Statute refers to thoſe then not ordained by it, but by *other* order, or in *other places*; but is no cloak for any ſince.

What in the fifth place they add, that this affixing the right of *Ordination* unto *Biſhops*, doth unchurch all the Proteſtant Churches; is a caſt of their office, which is to *calumniate*. For that is law and order in *one place*, which is confuſion or Schiſm in another. The Apoſtles Rule, *That every man meddle with his own buſineſs*, may bee in ſome ſenſe applicable to Churches alſo. Wee know our own duty, wee hope charitably they would do theirs, had they the *liberty* wee have, or the *light*. They *condemn* not us, wee *deſpiſe* not them; but give them the right hand of *fellowſhip*, and when occaſion ſerves wee declare, that wee are with them, and they with us one *bread* and one *body*.

2 Theſ. 3. Reformed Churches.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the book of Ordination.

SUBSECT. I.

Biſhops impoſition of hands on Deacons.

NExt, that they may *mark out* iniquity, and accompliſh a *diligent ſearch* for it; and that ſo the nakedneſs of their *Father* and *Mother* (if any were) might in no part be covered with the veil of *charity* or *modeſty*, but expoſed to the contempt and ſcorn, of thoſe in *Gath* and *Askelon*. They fall upon the *book of Ordination*. But what Book? ſure ſuch as is written *ſententiis vivis*, as the Jeſuite ſpake of *Savanarola* upon the Pſalms. So compoſed for ſtrength of *Doctrine*, and *piety* of expreſſion, that there is no religious heart can think, but that they were guided in it by the very Spirit of *God*; and which did the Brethren conſcionably peruſe, they would finde, as wee ſay, other fiſh to fry, and inſtead of quarrelling with it, fall down, and ask *God* forgiveneſs for their *breach* of what they promiſed, when they were ordained by it: But to the particulars. Omitting their quarrel to the three *orders*, and the word *Prieſt*, anſwered before. Come wee to their exception againſt the ordering of *Deacons*, which is, that the im- P. 45.
'poſition of the hands of the Biſhop *alone* upon them,
'is contrary to *Acts* the ſixth, where 'tis ſaid, that *They*,
'and not one of them onely laid their hands on them.
But, if it be of neceſſity, that at the ordaining of the
Deacon, there muſt be the hands of all the Apoſtles, or 1.
Miniſters preſent; Then more ſhould be required thereunto, than to the making of a *Miniſter* or a Biſhop; for that was done by *Pauls* hand, as himſelf witneſſeth in *Timothy*; or at leaſt it will follow, that one Apoſtle, 2 Timothy 2.
if the reſt were preſent, had not power to make a Dea-

The book of Ordination.

2. con. Secondly, Is it any way probable that all the *Twelve* laid their hands upon every one. May not rather *Calvins* opinion, above cited, hee admitted, *viz.* 'that *one* onely did it in the name of the reſt. Thirdly,

3. How will it follow that, if all the *Apoſtles* laid on hands, that therefore every Miniſter preſent with the Biſhop muſt do ſo too, unleſs they can ſhew, that every *private Miniſter* doth come as neer the dignity of an Apoſtle, as a *Biſhop* doth, who is a Governour of the Church. Fourthly, It is well noted in the *Articles* that

4. ſome ſuperſtitions in the Church (though there it ſpeaks in another caſe) *have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apoſtles.* The Apoſtles, and not one onely might lay on hands, becauſe there were ſeveral to bee ordained. And many occaſions did admoniſh them of expedition. Again, Their *Deacons* were not in all points as ours, which are admitted into the order of the *Miniſtry*: which becauſe an *inferiour* one, to repreſent the *diſtinction* of it, and the dignity of the other, (*viz.* The Miniſtry uſually ſo called, or *Prieſthood*) it was thought convenient to impoſe the ſole hand of the Biſhop in the one; But for more *ſolemnity*, not more *efficacies* ſake, to adjoyn other Miniſters to the Biſhop in the other.

Artic. 25. of the Sacrament.

5.

Why the ſole impoſition of the Biſhops hands is uſed in Deacons.

SUBSECT. II.

Apoſtles chooſe Deacons.

2. Except. Act. 6. THey except ſecondly againſt that paſſage in the 'prayer; where it is ſaid that God did inſpire his A-'poſtles to chuſe into this order St. *Stephen*, &c. whereas they ſay, the Text ſaith, it was the *multitude*. Now the Brethren ſay it was by order from the Apoſtles. And it hindreth not but that the Apoſtles might chuſe with them, or if not, their *approbation* is their chuſing, after the multitude had made theirs. Where the Brethren

threnſay, that to ſay the Apoſtles choſe them, *di-*
'*rectly* croſſeth the Text: they give us a taſte of their
learning, and of their *Logick*. With them it ſeems, 3. Except.
ſubordinata & ſimul vera, are *contradictoria*, and *Jo-*
nathan and *David* mortal enemies.

SUBSECT. III.

Receive the Holy Ghoſt.

N. 3. Receive the Holy Ghoſt.

But that which *moſt offendeth* (ſay they) is; that in
'the very act of ordaining (Prieſts or Miniſters)
'the Biſhop takes upon him to give that, which none
but God himſelf hath power to beſtow, where it ſaith,
Receive the Holy Ghoſt, &c. 'which be the words of
'Chriſt himſelf to his Apoſtles, without any warrant
'from him to bee uſed by any other. Becauſe in other
'miniſtrations, where the words of *Inſtitution*, in *Bap-*
'*tiſm*, in the adminiſtration of the *Lords Supper, &c.*
'are firſt rehearſed; and then, at the Act of mini-
'ſtring, a prayer is uſed, not a Magiſterial uſe of the
'very words of Chriſt himſelf in the firſt inſtitution.

Anſw.

For anſwer: Firſt the *Biſhop* is not to be laden with
this *odium* alone (if any were juſt) but the reſt of
the *Miniſters* alſo that impoſe hands with him, the Bi-
ſhop for orders ſake being but their mouth. But to
the matter. Firſt; To the thing it ſelf; next to their
exceptions againſt it. To the former; Wee muſt firſt
remember that the *Holy Ghoſt* is Chriſts Vicar upon Joh. 14. chap.
earth in the Government of the Church in general, and 15. chap. 16.
therefore ſent by him for that purpoſe. And particu-
larly aſſumeth to himſelf the calling of the *Miniſtry*.
'As, ſeparate unto mee, ſaith the *Holy Ghoſt*, *Barnabas*
'and *Saul* for the work that *I* have appointed them. Act. 13. 2.
'And take heed unto your ſelves, and unto the flock
over which the *Holy Ghoſt* hath made you over-ſeers, Act. 20.
ſaith the Apoſtle to the Miniſters of *Epheſus*. Whence

it follows that no Minister can be made, but hee must
2. have the Authority of the Holy Ghost. Secondly, It is
necessary also that hee receive the *Holy Ghost* it self,
in the *gifts* and *abilities* of it, for the discharge of this
'calling. For no man *can say* (that is, effectually
1 Cor. 12. 'teach) that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost,
'saith the Apostle. And every spirit that confesseth
'(that is, soundly *preacheth*) that Jesus is the Christ is
1 John 4.1,2. 'of God. For it is the Holy Ghost onely that leadeth
John 16. 'into all Truth concerning Christ. Thirdly, The
3. conveyance of the Holy Ghost in all publick Ordinances is by some *Ministerial* hand, as in *Baptism*, and the *Lords Supper*, wherein, at least unto the faithful, the Holy Ghost is conveyed. So as in respect of the *thing* it self, the Holy Ghost is *necessary* to bee conveyed to every Minister that is to bee ordained.

Sense of the words. 2. Next for the meaning of the phrase. First, wee
must observe; That the *word Holy Ghost* here, may be
1. either taken for his *person and gifts*, or for his *Authority*,
or both, by a *Metonymy*. 'It is taken for his *gifts*,
John 7. 'where it is said, that the Holy Ghost was *not yet*; be-
'cause Christ was not yet glorified. It is taken for his
2. 'Authority, when the Apostle saith that, the Holy
'Ghost had made the Ministers of *Ephesus* the over-
Act. 20. seers of the flock. Secondly, wee may expound the words by way of *declaration*, and *solemn pronouncing*, as well as *imparative*, or *communicative bidding*. And the other words may bee so expounded also, according as in *absolution*, it is in one place in the Common Prayer-Book pronounced *authoritatively*, yet it is expounded to bee onely a *declaring* and pronouncing. Now to apply the former: The word Holy Ghost here seems to bee taken for the *Authority* especially, of the Holy Ghost to the exercise of the Ministerial function, As if it were said: *Take thou the Authority of the Holy Ghost, which hee hath appointed his Church to communicate and dispense to persons worthy, for the Ministry of the Word (in binding and loosing) and of the Sacraments.*

3. To

3. To their exceptions. Firſt, To the exception general *it ſelf*, that this form hath *no warrant*. It is anſwered, That in other things they urge the *Letter* of the Scripture. And ſurely where there is no *incongruity* in the *thing*, nor impediment from ſome *other* cauſe from uſing the very words of Inſtitution; there cannot bee deſired a better warrant. Now that there is no ſuch incongruity, nor impediment ſhall bee ſhewn in anſwering unto the *Reaſons* of the former exception; whereof the firſt is that, *none but God himſelf hath power to give the Holy Ghoſt*. But it hindreth not, but that what none but a *ſuperiour* Authority can have power to give *originally*, may yet bee given *miniſterially*, and by delegation from that ſuperiour power. Neither *Moſes* had power to conſecrate *Aaron*, nor *Samuel* to confer the Kingdome unto *David*, nor the *Apoſtles* themſelves to give the Holy Ghoſt but by delegation and commiſſion. Which power, if, (as to that right of the conferring the power and authority of the Holy Ghoſt to the ordaining of a Miniſter) the *Church* miniſterially hath not (for without that power it cannot bee done) then muſt every Miniſter receive his authority and *outward* call *immediately* from Heaven. Neither is repugnant hereunto, either that of the *Maſter of the ſentences*: nor of *Auſtin* himſelf, whence hee hath it, *viz. Neque enim aliquis diſcipulorum ejus dedit ſpiritum ſanctum. Orabant quippe ut veniret in eos quibus manum imponebant, non eum ipſi dabant. Quem morem in ſuis propoſitis etiam nunc ſervat Eccleſia*: For 'neither (ſaith hee) any of the *Diſciples* gave the *Holy Ghoſt*, but they prayed that hee might come on 'thoſe, upon whom they laid their hands, but gave him 'not themſelves, which *cuſtome* the Church even now 'retaineth in her *Biſhops*. For our Church doth *pray* in laying on of hands, and with and under the words of *Inſtitution*, *asketh* alſo, before and after. What form of words the Apoſtles uſed in *laying on of hands*, and conferring the *Holy Ghoſt* is not expreſſed,

1. No warrant. *Anſw.*

Proof.

Anſw.

Lib. 1. *diſt.* 14. *cap.* 1. *Hic queritur.*

Aug. de Trin. l. 15. *c.* 26.

Object.

Anſw. 1.

but unlikely it is that they uſed none. Now thoſe they uſed, whether they were thoſe uſed by our Saviour, or others in form of praying, cannot be determined, nor therefore their example urged in that, which our Church pretendeth not unto. But the former will bee more evident in other miniſtrations alſo. In *Abſolution*, the form is in the Liturgy, in the viſitation of the *ſick*. *Imperative* and *authoritative* as I may ſo ſpeak (and in a good ſenſe ſo it is) *by his authority committed*
3. *unto mee, I abſolve thee from all thy ſin, &c.* yet in the general *abſolution* after the general confeſſion, at morning-prayer (by which the former muſt bee expounded) it is expreſſed to bee but *declaratory*, by way of ſolemn and *authoritative pronouncing*; and with the concurrence of *prayer*, for efficacy of ſuch declaration. 'Almighty God who haſt given power and com-'mandment, to *declare* and *pronounce* to his people being 'penitent, the abſolution and remiſſion of their ſins, *&c.* In *Baptiſm* the *Holy Ghoſt* and *remiſſion of ſins* is given, and that by the miniſtration and the words ſpoken by the Miniſter. So alſo in the *Lords Supper* the body and blood of Chriſt (ſacramentally) is conferred by the *words* and *action* of the Miniſter; none of which is in the *power of any to beſtow, but God onely*. Shall wee therefore except againſt the fruits of thoſe Ordinances, or againſt the Miniſter for pronouncing ſuch
4. words, and doing ſuch actions? Again, as in the Abſolution there goeth with the Pronounciation, prayer alſo, and ſo likewiſe in Baptiſm and the Lords Supper, what hindereth, but that the words may be taken under a precatory ſenſe alſo, and as including prayer, which more *expreſly* goeth both before and after? The words therefore *take thou the Holy Ghoſt*, do not argue an *original*, or an *inherent power*, but *Miniſterial* onely; and ſo as not excluding a *precatory* vertue alſo. This to the firſt Reaſon. The ſecond is, *becauſe they were the words of Chriſt himſelf to his Apoſtles*; what
2. Proof. then? were all Chriſts words to his Apoſtles peculiar

to

to them? It was to his Apoſtles that hee gave the command of *baptizing* and *teaching*, and of giving his *laſt Supper*. Have none therefore power ſince to adminiſter theſe Ordinances? Again, if no Miniſter can be made but by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and his Authority, and this Authority were proper onely to the Apoſtles, becauſe the words were ſpoken to them, then is the Church deprived of the Holy Ghoſt ever ſince the Apoſtles, nor hath power to ordain a Miniſtry. The third reaſon is taken from the parallel of other 'adminiſtrations, wherein the words of *inſtitution* (in 'Baptiſm, in the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, '*&c.*) are firſt rehearſed, and then, at the act of Mi-'niſtring a prayer is uſed; not a Magiſterial uſe of the 'very words of Chriſt himſelf in the firſt inſtitution. Firſt it is *untrue* that there is any difference in this, between *Ordination* and *Baptiſm*, or the *Lords Supper*, for as in theſe, there goeth *prayer* before and after, So alſo in this of *Ordination*. But in the very act, there is uſed a *Magiſterial* (if the Brethren will have it ſo) or an *authoritative* command, precept or imperative expreſſion. In Baptiſm I *baptize* thee in the name of the Father, *&c.* not a *praying* that hee may be baptized. The ſenſe whereof is: *I waſh away thy ſins, or as* Ananias *to* Paul, ariſe and be *baptized, and waſh away thy ſins*, which is *Magiſterial* and commanding. At the leaſt it is an uſing of the *very words of Chriſt himſelf at the firſt inſtitution*, as neer as may bee, which the Brethren deny to be lawful. So in the *Lords Supper*: It is *not*, in the very act: I *pray* that thou mayeſt be one for whom Chriſt died, and that thou mayeſt feed on him by Faith: But a *peremptory* aſſertion, that Chriſt died for him, and an *imperative* command that hee ſhould *feed on him by Faith*. In neither the one Sacrament nor the other, is there a *prayer* uſed in the very act of adminiſtring. Neither were it unlawful if the former were in the Lords Supper, *Take thou the body of Chriſt, take thou his blood*, which ſome have uſed, But that our

Anſw.

2.

3.

Proof.

Anſw.

Act. 22. 16.

our Church for the avoiding of *Superſtition* hath been forced to uſe other words. The *Germane* and *Dutch* Churches uſe a form not unlike that now named. The *Dutch*: The bread which wee break is the communion of *the body of Chriſt, take and eat it*: where they are *commanded* to take the *body* of Chriſt, as peremptorily, as the Miniſter is commanded to *take the Holy Ghoſt*. So in the Cup. But none can give the *body and blood* of Chriſt but *himſelf onely*. And in the *Germane* Church of *Colen*, in the Liturgy above mentioned, in the form of giving the *Lords Supper*. *Accipe & manduca ad ſalutem tuam, corpus Domini, quod pro te traditum eſt*: *Take and eat the body of Chriſt* to thy ſalvation, *&c.* But ſecondly, as was ſaid above, if the words may bear the form of a *prayer* alſo, there needs no altering, unleſs it bee of the Brethrens ſpirit unto more charity. Again, wherein wee differ from the very words of Inſtitution, it is partly becauſe it would bee *incongruous* to uſe them, as to ſay: *This is my body which is given for you, &c.* And partly, to prevent, as was ſaid, ſuch *ſuperſtitions* as had grown into the uſe of that Sacrament for want of a more clear explication of thoſe words. But it is not incongruous engliſh to ſay (as a *Deputy* in the name of the *Original Author*) receive the Holy Ghoſt. So alſo there hath no *Superſtition* ariſen upon theſe words (becauſe by *Doctrine* prevented elſewhere) by reaſon whereof, the Church ſhould be conſtrained to change the very words of our Saviour. Eſpecially ſeeing they ſerve more *emphatically* to confirm the aſſurance of the *Miniſter* in his call; as alſo to beget a greater Authority for his perſon and office in the hearts of the *people*, both which is very neceſſary. *Ac uberrimum h. doctrinæ fructum quotidie percipit Eccleſia, dum paſtores ſuos intelligit, divinitus ordinatos eſſe æternæ ſalutis ſponſoris. Cal.* in Joh. 20. 23. 'Whilſt the people hereby underſtand, that their Mini-'ſters are ordained by God to be his Embaſſadors. If it be replied; that it nouriſheth a *Popiſh* opinion of the

Form of the Lords Supper in the *Dutch* Churches.

Liber. Reform. Colen.

Object.

Epiſcopal

Episcopal and *Priestly* power, to convey the *Holy Ghost*, and to *forgive sins*; It is answered that neither of these opinions are *Popish*, but onely the *Application* of them to unfit persons; and the perverse *exposition* of them, as if they had such power in their sleeve, to dispense when and to whom they pleased. The danger whereof is not such among *us*, who are better *taught*; as that wee should for it, alter the words of institution, and form of ordaining, of which there is such particular use. *Object.* *Answ.*

To their *third* exception, that it countenances a sole power of Ordination; the very *form of Ordination* answers, which appoints that the Bishops with the *Priests* or Ministers that are present, shall lay on their hands, and not the Bishop alone. To their last, of *offence to Protestant Churches* abroad, they have not declared any such offence in their publick confessions in reference to our Church, that I know of; nor will, if they consider our Doctrine in this particular. If some *particular* men should not be satisfied, if for that wee should alter, wee should do it rather for the *Brethren*, who are, or have been of our own Church. But to satisfie a few, we may not by unnecessary change scandalize many more. To conclude, the sense of our Church in these words and this ceremony, might be expressed in that of *Austin*, on those words: Received yee the Spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith? *Ab Apostolo prædicata est eis fides, in qua prædicatione utiq; adventum & præsentiam Spiriti sancti conserant.* By the 'Apostle (saith hee) the Faith was preached unto 'them, in which preaching verily, there was felt the coming and presence of the Holy Ghost. So doth our Church *give the Spirit*, whilst shee repeating the *words of Institution*, intends and *praves*, that those to whom her *word* is directed, and for whom her *prayers*, may feel the coming and presence of the Spirit. I end all with the words of that Author: *Insufflavit & dixit, accipite Sp. S. Ecclesiastica iis verbis potestas co-*

3. Except. *Answ.*

4. Except. *Vide Harm. confess.*

Answ.

Aug. in Gal. 3. 2. Tom. 4.

Annot. in Joh. 20.22. in Indic. Autho it. ap. Aug. tanquam ex Serm. 11. de verb. dom. Tom. 10 quanquam id ibi non invenio, sententia tamen proba est.

lata esse intelligitur: inspiratio ergo hæc, gratia quædam est, quæ per traditionem infunditur ordinatis. 'He breath-'ed on them, and said, Receive the Holy Ghost: in 'these words wee must understand (saith hee) an *Ec-'clesiastical power* is given; This *Inspiration* therefore, 'is a certain *grace or priviledge*, which by delivery (in 'imposition of hands) is infused into the ordained. which sentence being it takes in, both the *power* and the *gift*, may not unfitly (being expounded as a *Ministerial* act assisted with *prayer*) close this dissertation.

SUBSECT. IV.

Consecration of Bishops and Archbishops, &c.

3. Gen. Exception against book of Ordination.

Pag. 46.

THe last Exception they have against the book of Ordination is about consecration of *Bishops* and *Archbishops*. Where first, that because that the same portion of Scripture is appointed to be read at the consecration of a *Bishop*, that was read at the Ordination 'of *Priests*; therefore they infer that the compilers of 'the book never dreampt of a distinction of orders be-'tween Bishops and Presbyters. Surely the Brethren are somewhat confident, that their readers are very easie, either to be perswaded, or to be deluded: For may not the same Scripture contain matters common to *both*, and peculiar more specially to *one* of those orders. When they have expressed themselves sufficiently before, must the appointing of a chapter that containeth precepts for both joyntly, yet for the one more eminently, argue they meant thereby to confute themselves? The next exception is, 'That there is no war-'rant in Scripture for *Archbishops*. Not indeed for the very *word* (as there is not for many other things, as for the *Trinity*, *Justification by Faith onely*, Baptism of *Infants*, *Women* coming to the Lords Supper.) But for the *thing* there is. The Evangelists, as *Timothy* and *Titus* had power over other Ministers; And the *Apostles* had power over them. If the state of the Church

Answ.

2. Except. *Answ.*

then

then needed such Superintendents over Bishops, and the state of the Church now, have the same use and exigency of them; There is warrant in Scripture. And so there is in *Law* and *Reason*, *viz.* to constitute such officers in the *Church*, as well as in the *Common-Wealth*, as whereby the government of it, may bee the more conveniently managed. The commendation of the wisdome of the Church in this institution of Archbishops, wee heard above out of *Bucer* and *Zanchy*. And may further out of *Calvin*: *Quod autem singulæ Provinciæ unum habebant inter Episcopos, Archiepiscopum: Quod item in Nicæna Synodo constituti sunt Patriarchæ, qui essent* ordine *& dignitate Archiepiscopis superiores, id ad disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat. —Si* rem, *omisso vocabulo, intuemur, reperiemus veteres Episcopos non aliam regendæ Ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere, ab eâ quam* Deus *verbo suo præscripsit.* 'Now that (saith he) every province had among their Bishops 'one *Archbishop*; and that in the councel of *Nice* there 'were ordained *Patriarchs*, which should be in *order* 'and dignity *superiour unto Archbishops*; this was done 'for the preservation of Discipline and Government. '—But if wee will, omitting contention about the '*Word*, consider the thing it self, wee shall finde, that 'the ancient Bishops intended not to frame any form 'of Church-Government, which was, in kinde, *dif-* 'ferent from that which *God* had appointed in his 'Word. Thus far hee. Go to now, yee that pretend to be followers of *Calvin*, and see whether *Archbishops*, yea *Patriarchs* have not warrant from the Word of God. The Brethrens third Exception is against the *consecration* of an Archbishop; but upon the former ground, that it is but a *humane* creature: which ground is confuted. But if hee were, yet consecration may be requisite, as a solemn separation of a person to an office in the Church of so much influence, of so much consequence. As, though *Kings* themselves bee in some sense ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις an humane creation, though

Calv. Instit. l. 4. c. 4. s. 4.

Archbishops and Patriarchs approved by *Calvin*.

3. Except. Consecration of Archbishops.

Answ.

1.

2.

1 Pet. 2.

though by *Gods* ſecret appointment; yet no man ever quarrelled with their ſolemn inauguration by *prayer & other ceremonies* (ſuppoſe them ſuch as are *not ſuperſtitious*) into their office. 'That they ſay, our Church ſeeth
Inſt. 'no neceſſity of the conſecration of an *Archbiſhop*, be-
Anſw. 'cauſe it appointeth the ſame form for both, is to ſtumble at the ſame undutiful ſtone, to indeavour to
1. make the Church contradict it ſelf. To appoint a conſecration for an Archbiſhop, and yet to make it a thing of no neceſſity. That it hath not appointed a different form for this, is, to let the Brethren and all men underſtand, that they did not count this a different *order*,
2. but *degree* onely in the ſame order; and therefore the ſame form of conſecration might ſerve for both, Becauſe the Church would not multiply ſervices without neceſſity. To the laſt Exception which they infer from
4. the former, *viz.* That ſeeing the *Archbiſhop* is but
Except. Oath of common obedience. of the Churches conſtitution, therefore they ſee no rea-
'ſon why he ſhould receive an oath of *Canonical obedi-*
'*ence* from the Biſhop. But of the *Antecedent* wee ſaw
Anſw. above; as to the conſequent it is untruly gathered. For though an Archbiſhop bee but of Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, what hindereth, but that, having ſo great an influence upon the Church, the welfare whereof doth ſo much conſiſt in the obedience of the ſeveral Governours thereof unto their *Superiours*; and this, by men in *place*, ſo hardly, oftentimes performed, without more ſolemn obligation of *conſcience*; what impedeth, either in Religion or Reaſon, that for the ſecuring the peace of the Church, and the exerciſe of Government, an oath may not be exacted of an *inferiour* degree. But that here's the *cramp*; it argues too much inferiority and *ſubjection* unto the Archbiſhop of a *Biſhop*, with whom the Brethren do count themſelves *equal*, who are men, בלי עול and ſuch as cannot bear the *yoak*; eſpecially, having now, as *Cæſar* once, ſo long *ruled*, that to *obey*, they knew not how. But they ſhould remember, that a *levelling* ſpirit, is as dangerous in the Church,

as

as in the Common-Wealth and tends to *Anarchy*, and no Government at all. What made *Diodate* elſe at *Geneva*, come ſo rarely to the conſiſtory, but this, that hee ſaid, *Young men perked up*, and every one having an equal power, there was no place for gravity in the Government, which hee expreſſed to one I know, to this effect. And thus I have done with their Exceptions againſt *Epiſcopacy*, the Government, and the ſolemn initiation thereunto, its *conſecration*.

SECT. V. *Epiſcopal Juriſdiction.*

THeir next is againſt its Right of *Juriſdiction*. And first of *ſole Juriſdiction*. Or the exerciſe of Government *alone*. Where firſt their *aſſertion*: not onely, that Biſhops have not the onely power of Government, but alſo that *all* Presbyters have a ſhare therein. Next their *proof* of it. Firſt to their aſſertion. Firſt, Becauſe my ſcope is onely to vindicate, ſo far as I am able, The *Doctrine*, *Worſhip* and *Government* of the Church, as agreeable to the *Scripture*, and as received publickly, *eſtabliſhed* and practiſed in this Nation; if any do *break this fenſe*, *let the Serpent bite him*; if hee remove theſe *ſtones*, *let them fall upon him*, if hee willingly violate theſe holy and ſacred bonds of *Law*, how weak a Patron ſoever I am, hee ſhall have no advocate of mee. Next the Terms, perhaps would bee explained. For *ſole* Juriſdiction may bee taken either for *ſole Right* of Government, ſo that no man elſe hath any thing to do to govern but himſelf, or by delegation from him; or elſe for the *ſole Right* of the exerting, exerciſe and putting that power into *execution*. Now in the former ſenſe, neither the *Scripture*, ſo far as I underſtand, nor the *Church of England*, hath aſſerted ſuch power in any Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſince the *Apoſtles*, who onely, under *Chriſt*, had a power, ἐξαίρετον, and autocratical. Or thirdly, For an *eminent*

3. Except. Againſt Epiſcop. Juriſdiction.

Anſw. 1.

Eccleſ. 10. 8.

2. Sole Juriſdiction.

2.

3.

nent degree, of power in Government, so as that *some acts* thereof, do *solely* belong unto him to perform *regularly*, and in *common order*. Now in this sense, omitting the name (as *Zanchy* said above) and keeping our eye upon the thing it self; seeing both the *Scripture* and the *Church of England*, as also the practice of the *whole Church* through the world formerly, and the most *learned* men of the *reformed* Churches of late (all which have been evidenced above) have constituted an order or degree of persons, who of right *had* and ought to have the Regiment and Government over other Ministers (as is plain not onely by the *Apostles*, but also by the *Evangelists*, *Timothy* and *Titus*, as also by the perpetual *necessity* of the Church) I must needs refer unto that fore-quoted sentence of *Cyprian* to this purpose, and add here another of like effect out of him: *Hæc sunt enim initia hæreticorum, & ortus atq; conatus Schismaticorum malè cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Ecclesiâ receditur, sic altare prophanum foris collocatur; sic contra pacem Christi & ordinationem atq; unitatem Dei rebellatur.* 'These are (saith hee) the beginnings of *Here-* 'ticks, the rise and struglings of ill minded *Schismaticks*; 'to *please* themselves, and with *proud* stomach to de- 'spise the *Bishop* (for so this word must here be meant) 'thence men depart from the Church; thence the pro- 'phane altar of separation is placed elsewhere; thence, 'against the peace of *Christ*, and against the Ordinance 'and unity appointed by God, *rebellion* is raised.

Cypr. l. 3. Ep. 1.

4. Fourthly, *Sole Jurisdiction*, may be taken for exercising those Acts that of right belong to him to do, wholly of his *own head*, without ingagement to *consult* and advise with any, or else for the sole power of acting, but upon ingagement of taking with him the *Judgement* and opinion, though not the governing *power* of others also. Hence the *Apostle* in the former sense, admonisheth that the *Bishop*, as well as any other Minister and Elder, must not be αὐθάδης, one that in

Tit. 1. 7.

the

the Government of the Church goeth upon his own head. And in the latter ſenſe, is it that *Cyprian* (than whom, no man was more for the priviledge *Epiſcopal*, and for entire obedience thereunto; yet) ſaith: *Ad id vero quod ſcripſerunt mihi compresbyteri noſtri — ſolus reſcribere nil potui, cum a primordio Epiſcopatus mei ſtatuerim, nihil ſine conſilio veſtra, & ſine conſenſu plebis meæ privatim ſententia gerere.* 'Unto that (ſaith hee) 'that my *fellow Presbyters* wrote unto mee, I can *alone* 'return no anſwer; for I determined from my firſt en- 'trance into my office, privately, and of my *own head*, 'without *your counſel*, that are the Miniſters, and with- 'out the conſent of the *people*, to do nothing. For the true underſtanding of which ſentence and other like, as alſo for a reſolution of the queſtion *it ſelf*, a few things muſt be ſeverally and diſtinctly noted. First, That hee doth not in this, overthrow what ſeveral times hee ſaid before, touching the obedience due from the *whole Church* to the *Biſhop*; but onely ſignifies that hee thinks it *his* duty to *adviſe* with them, as theirs to be *obedient* unto him. Secondly, That this courſe of uſe *then*, is not ſo neceſſary *now*, when as *all* the motions and actings of the *Biſhop* are laid forth and *determined*, and hee *obliged* to operate and govern onely by them (by the Laws and Canons) which was not ſo fully done in that Fathers time. Thirdly, That this order is not obſerved therefore, by thoſe who are moſt Antiepiſcopal, not by the *Brethren*, or *Presbyters*, neither here nor beyond the Seas; who do not call the *people* to all conſultations, but onely *Presbyters*, either ſacred or *civil*. Laſtly, That this practice of *Cyprian*, is *ad amuſſim* and exactly performed by the Biſhops of *England*. For, First, ſeeing they arrogate no power, but what the *Scripture*, the *Canons* of the Church, and the *Laws* of the Land do allow; and ſecondly, that by theſe all whatſoever materially they do, is already preſcribed to them; And in the third place, thoſe powers in *Scripture*, *Canons* of the Church, and *Laws* of the Nation,

Cypr. l. 3. Ep. 10

L. 1. Ep. 3. l. 3. Ep. 1.

1.

2.

3.

4. The *Biſhops* in the Church of *England* do nothing but by the adviſe of their *Brethren*, and of the *people*.

are

are approved, and confirmed both by their *Brethren*, the Miniſtery in *Convocation*, and by the *people* in the *Parliament* by their delegates; it follows truly and *really*, that the *Biſhops* in *England* act nothing, but in *effect*, according to that Fathers example, by the counſel of the *Miniſtry*, and conſent of the *people*. Thus much for their aſſertion. As to their proof, It is from Antiquity, from the book of Ordination, from the Common-prayer-book, and from the Law. Firſt, For

Brethrens proof.

1.

P. 47.

Anſw.

'*Antiquity*, they ſay in *Cyprians* time, there were in '*Rome* a number of the Clergy, who acted with the 'Biſhop. By this argument wee may infer ſtrange conſequences. For the *Parliament* acts with the King: So Acts run, the *Kings moſt* excellent Majeſty, with the *advice of the Lords* and *Commons*, &c. And the *Counſel* acts with the King; for that is common in proclamations; The *King* by the advice of the *Privy Counſel*. The queſtion is not with whom the Biſhops act, as who hath the primary *Power*. The *Juſtices* on the *Bench* act with the Judge; but can they *declare* Law, give the *charge*, and pronounce *ſentence*. Wee heard above what *Cyprians* judgement was of the power of the Biſhop, what alſo out of *tenderneſs* and indulgence, and to avoid *offence*, and for better *light*, not for more juriſdiction, hee condeſcended unto alſo. Next

1.

2.

3.

2. Proof.

'for that out of the book of Ordination: that becauſe 'it is asked the Miniſter to bee ordained, whether hee 'will obey his Ordinary and other chief Miniſters, &c. 'therefore there are other Miniſters, that have the power of juriſdiction. As if this did not refer unto the *Archbiſhop*, or other officers of the Biſhops. To which, becauſe they cannot anſwer, they object a place out of the Liturgy, which ſhall bee ſpoken to in its time. The other place in the book of Ordination. That 'becauſe it is asked the Prieſt to be ordained, if 'hee will adminiſter the Doctrine, and Sacraments, and 'Diſcipline of *Chriſt*, as the Lord hath commanded, and 'as *this Realm* hath received the ſame; therefore they

Anſw.

P. 48.

Object.

'ſay

'say it was the intention of the Church, to admit all 'Presbyters to have a share in Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. That is, It was the intention of the Church, to admit all those to *govern*, whom in that *very* question, and the answer to it, they did intend to oblige to subjection and obedience. So *gross* is the Brethrens conscience, to dare to utter; and their confidence to think that so palpable a *Calumny* would pass undiscerned, yea so ridiculous their hopes, as to fancy it would bee beleeved. *Answ.*

To the third, *viz.* that out of the *Liturgy*, Because it is said in the Rubrick before the Communion, that 'the Minister is authorized, to restrain *notorious offenders* from the Sacrament, till they have openly declared themselves to have repented: The Brethren query: What is this, but as much, and as high jurisdiction, as any Bishop can use in that particular? But first, how shall wee make a coat for the Moon? sometime they struggle, as even lately, if not at present; for *more* power about the Sacrament; and when my self mentioned this Rubrick unto one, that is no *Cypher* among them; hee said: it was not sufficient. Again, if the Brethren are by Law already instated in as much *jurisdiction* as any *Bishop* can use, about the Sacrament, and that is *the greatest* point; why rest they not in it? why blaspheme they the Common-prayer-book, wherein it is contained? why do they so wrestle *imponere pelio ossam*,

And make the Church and State as blocks *to be,*
For steps to mount unto their Prelacy.

3. Proof.

Liberty given to the Minister by the Liturgy touching Communicants.

Answ.

1.

Mr. *J. Cas.*

2.

But thirdly, There are some *Acts common* in all governments, and some *proper*. *A petty Constable* may charge any man upon a warrant to assist him, as well as the *Sheriff of the County* upon a writ. *Some kinde* of share in government, and exercise of Discipline, was never denyed to a Minister, *as a Minister*, no more than a share with the Bishop in *Preaching* of the Word: But *Jurisdiction* is a word of a louder sound, than *Discipline*, and the *Government* of the Church, than some

3.

kinde of reſtraining a *particular* communicant. Although thoſe Acts belong to Government, and are exerciſed by private Miniſters; yet they are about leſſer things; And alſo it is by *conceſſion* and delegation not to bee challenged (I think) of *right*, otherwiſe than as the officer of the Church appointed in her name, to do that which of himſelf, and as a *private* Miniſter hee could not do: For then there muſt bee, not as the Brethren ſay, if the Biſhops have ſole Juriſdiction, ſo many Popes (that is ſix and twenty) but ſixty times ſix and twenty *Popes* in *England*. For every Miniſter might then exclude whom hee pleaſed from the Communion, and exerciſe an abſolute *tyranny* upon the people. And ſo much of their third proof. Their laſt is *from Law*, which becauſe I do not underſtand it much; that it belongs unto the *Judges* to determine: That the *Biſhops have appealed thereunto*; that my ſelf have ſaid, above, ſomething to that point; That * it is declared already by the ſentence of all the *Judges*, Enrolled in the Courts of Record, and by his late Majeſties Proclamation; and that it is like ſhortly to be further determined. I ſuperſede from further anſwering, although I could. Onely I may not paſs, the great inconſideration of the Brethren with ſo much virulency, reſiſting the uſeful reſtitution of *the Biſhops into Parliament*, which is the intereſt of *Chriſt* himſelf, of the *Miniſtry*, and of the *Kingdome*; Firſt, Though we are (bleſſed be *God*) all Chriſtians; yet our maſters cauſe will probably bee minded a little more intently, by thoſe whom hee hath commiſſioned, for that purpoſe, the *Miniſtry*; the honour and flower whereof are the *Prelacy*. Again, other perſons have a vote in Parliament more immediately by their proxyes, the *Clergy* none but in the Biſhops. Laſtly, The *publick intereſt* to bee concerned, may well bee thought; from, not onely that engagement of thankfulneſs, that lyes upon it unto *Prelacy*, under whoſe *Government*, and by whoſe *Influence*, and through the effuſion of the *blood of whoſe members*, *Religion* hath been

4. *Proof.* *Anſw.*

* Vid. Tract of the R. Bp. *Linc.* now publiſhed, of the Legality of the Biſhops Courts, &c. Wherein the Kings Proclam. and Judges ſentence are recited.

Why *England* ſhould obſerve Epiſcopacy.

1.

2.

been reſtored: nor onely in regard, they were by the Antient Laws, even the *firſt* members next the *head*, for the form was, The *Kings* Majeſty, the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*; Nor onely in reſpect, perhaps of ſome higher ingagements. But from our *experience* (the *Miſtreſs of fools.*) For, firſt, neither *King*, *Lords* nor *Commons* continued in power long after the Biſhops ejectment. And next, hitherto wee have had no face of a Church, no certainty of *Doctrine*, no obſervation of *Worſhip*, no exerciſe of *Government* to ſpeak of, but all things have gone to *Babylonian* confuſion, and antique Chaos. *Diſcite juſtitiam moniti.*—

3.

4.

The *Phrygians* will not learn till laſht they be;
If that amend us not, then worſe are wee.

I ſhall, for cloſe, touching the *Civil* honour annexed unto *Epiſcopacy* in this Nation, ſubjoyn the concluſion and judgement of the learned *Zanchy*, and that in the confeſſion of his Faith. The concluſion is. *Epiſcoporum, qui & principes ſunt, politicam authoritatem non negari.* 'That the Civil Authority of *Biſhops*, which 'are alſo *Magiſtrates* or Princes, is not denyed. The explication follows. *Interim non diffitemur, Epiſcopos, qui ſimul etiam principes ſunt, præter autoritatem Eccleſiaſticam, ſua etiam habere jura politica*, Seculareſq; *poteſtates, quemadmodum & reliqui habent principes jus imperandi ſecularia; jus gladii: nonnullos jus elegendi confirmandiq; Reges & Imperatores aliaq; politica conſtituendi & adminiſtrandi, ſubditoſq; ſibi populos ad obedientiam ſibi præſtandam cogendi, &c.* 'That beſides 'their Eccleſiaſtical Authority, they have alſo Civil 'Rights, and SECULAR Powers, and may conſtrain 'obedience unto ſuch their powers, &c. which hee con-'tradicts not in the obſervations. Neither doth hee contradict it in his explication of that Aphoriſm. And 'that place, *Mat.* 20. 25. *It ſhall not bee ſo among you*; 'is underſtood by ſome to concern *all* Chriſtians, ſaith hee, neither doth hee refute it.

Zanch. confeſſ. *cap.* 25. *Aph.* 21.

SECT. VI.

The close of the Church-Controversie.

HAving thus far passed through all the *five* heads of *motives* unto *Separation*, *viz.* The *Doctrine*, the *Worship*, the *Assemblies*, the *Discipline*, and the *Government*; with *replies* unto them; and having also *vindicated* them, according to my *weak arm* by the *sword* of *the spirit*, against the opposers of them: I come now to close this whole dissertation. His present *Majesty* hath indulged to the Brethren and their adherents, very much in all the Premises. May it prove successful! But his Grandfather King *James* having tasted of this *Solumne geuse*, and wilde fowl, whilst in *Scotland*; and being pressed at his first coming, as *His Majesty* now, to the like here; hee utters his judgement upon observation of Gods presence with this Church and Nation; in these words: We have *seen* the Kingdome under that form of *Religion*, which by *Law* was established in the daies of the late *Queen* of famous memory, blessed with a peace and prosperity, both EXTRAORDINARY, and of many years continuance. A STRONG evidence that *God* was therewith well pleased. The *importunity* of the complainers was great, their *affirmations* vehement, and the *zeal* wherewith the same did seem to bee accompanied, very specious; (And) they began such proceedings as did rather raise a *scandal* in the Church, than take offence away, and did other things carrying a very apparent shew of *Sedition*. Upon this double experience when such motions of change were made to him, hee * crushed the chicken here in the shell (lest it being hatched by indulgence, might *pick out his eyes*; as it did afterward some *others*) and did well. King *Charls* His Majesties Father yeelded in these things to *Scotland*, but doth, not obscurely, bewail it. *If any*, saith hee,

1. King *James*'s Proclamation for Uniformity of Common-prayer, prefixed to some Editions of the Liturgy.

2.

3.

* In his Proclamation for unity of Common-Prayer, and confer. *H. Court.*

hee (ſpeaking of Epiſcopacy) *ſhall impute my yielding to them my failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it.* On the iſſue whereof, no man can, without horrour reflect. Now, *Icon. Baſilic. medit. 17. p. m. 156.*

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.
O happy hee whom others failings make
Wiſe to become, and by them warning take.

But it may be, times are different, and: *am I made of the Kings Counſel?* I conclude all, firſt with that of *Eraſmus*: *Ad hæc video eſſe non-nullos hujuſcemodi ingenio, ut cum apicula ad omnem floſculum, ad omnem advolans fruticem, tantum id excerpat, quod ad mellificium ſit conducibile; ipſi ſolum hoc venentur, ſi quid ſit quod aliquo pacto Calumniari poſſint. His mos eſt, è toto libro quatuor aut quinq; verba decerpere, atq; in eis calumniandis oſtendere quantum ingenio polleant. Non animadvertunt, quibus* temporibus, cui, *qua* occaſione *quo animo ſcripſerit ille. Neque conferunt, quid præceſſerit quid ſequatur, quid alio loco eadem de re ſcripſerit. Tantum urgent ac premunt quatuor illa verba: ad ea machinas omnes admovent Syllogiſmorum: detorquent, depravant, aliquoties & non intellecta calumniantur.* 2 Chron. 25. 16 *Eraſm. in Epiſt. Hieron. ad Heliodor. Tom. 1. Ep. 1. in Antidot. adverſ. calumniam.*

Cauſes of calumniating of an Author.

'That is, I perceive (ſaith *Eraſmus*) that ſome men, 'are of that diſpoſition, that, whereas the little *Bee* 'flyes to every flower, and to every green thing, onely 'that it may gather that whereof it would make honey; 'theſe men only hunt after that, which they may rail at. 'The cuſtome of ſuch men is, out of a whole book to cull 'out four or five words, and in reviſing of them to ſhew 'what abilities they have. They conſider not, in what '*times* the Author wrote, nor to what perſons, nor upon 'what occaſion, nor with what intention. Nor do they 'compare what went before with what follows after; 'what hee ſaid of the ſame matter in another place. 'Onely they urge thoſe four words; they wreſt, they 'deprave, and ſometimes reproach what they under-'ſtand not. Thus far hee. Next with that elegant and

prudent observation (*abſit invidia verbo*) of our late
Icon. Baſilic. Medit. 27. To His Majeſty that now is.
'*Soveraign* upon this ſame Argument. Not, but that
'(ſaith hee) the draught being excellent as to the *main*,
'both for *Doctrine* and *Government* in the Church of
'*England*; ſome *lines*, as in very good figures, may
'happily need ſome ſweetening or poliſhing. Which
'might have eaſily been done, by a *ſafe* and *gentle*
'hand; if ſome mens *precipitancy* had not *violently* de-
'manded ſuch *rude* alterations, as would have quite
'deſtroyed, all the beauty and proportion of the *whole*.
The cloſe of all. Thus the King. I *ſeal* up all with the grave *admoni-*
Dr. *Uſher* L. Primate of *Armagh* Serm. before the H. of Com. *Febr.* 18. 1620. pag. 6, 7. *tion* of a *Primate Biſhop*, and the Authentique *Deciſion*
of this caſe by a Prince of *Kings*. Let not every wan-
'ton wit (ſaith the former, to one of the *Houſes of*
'*Parliament*) bee *permitted* to bring what fancies hee
'liſt into the pulpit, and to diſturb things that have
'been well ordered. I beſeech you Brethen (ſaith
Rom. 16. 17. 'the Apoſtle) mark them which cauſe diviſions and
'offences contrary to the Doctrine which yee have
'learned, and avoid them—Howſoever wee may ſee
'cauſe why wee ſhould diſſent from others in matter
'of opinion; yet let us remember that, that is no cauſe
'why wee ſhould break the *Kings Peace*, and make a
'*rent* in the Church of *God*. A thing *deeply* to bee
Iſmaels. Gen. 16. 12. 'thought of by the *Iſmaels* of our time, whoſe hand is
'againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt
'them, who bite and devour one another, until they
Gal. 5. 15. 'bee conſumed one of another; who forſake the fel-
'lowſhip of the *Saints*, and by ſacrilegious *ſeparation*
'break this bond of peace. Little do theſe men con-
'ſider, how precious *the Peace of the Church* ought to
'be in our eyes (*to bee redeemed with a thouſand of our*
'*lives*) and of what dangerous conſequence the mat-
'ter of *Schiſm* is, unto their own *ſouls*. For howſoever
'the Schiſmatick *ſecundum affectum* (as the *School-*
'*men* ſpeak) in his intention and wicked purpoſe, ta-
'keth away unity from the Church; even as hee that
'hateth God, taketh away goodneſs from him as much

'as

'as in him lyeth: yet *secundum effectum* in truth and 'in very deed; hee taketh away the unity of the 'Church onely from himself: that is, hee cutteth 'himself off from being united with the rest of the 'body; and being dissevered from the body, how is it 'possible that hee should retain communion with the 'head? Thus that most learned *Primate*, for whom the Brethren seem to have a special reverence in recommending of his *Model* of Episcopacy. Wherein yet, hee did *propound*, but not *prescribe* his judgement; according to that: *Illi qui in his rebus nobis præcesserunt, non Domini, sed Duces nostri sunt*; or as the 'Apostle, as a *helper*, not as a *Lord* over the *Faith* of the 'Church in this particular; but especially, as respecting the time, when more could not well bee hoped for. The last word, as 'tis meet, shall bee the *Kings*, and 'twas his deciding one in these controversies, after *hearing* of *all* debates about them at the conference at *Hampt. Court*. And last of all (saith hee) wee do admonish 'all men, that hereafter they shall not expect, nor 'attempt any *further alteration* in the common and 'publick form of Gods service, from this which is now 'ESTABLISHED. For that neither will wee give 'way to any to presume, that our own judgement having *determined* in a matter of this *weight*, shall bee 'sweighed to alteration by the FRIVOLOUS suggestions of any LIGHT spirit. Neither are wee ignorant of the inconveniences that do arise in GOVERNMENT, by admitting INNOVATIONS 'in things once SETTLED by mature deliberation: 'and how necessary it is to use CONSTANCY in the 'upholding of the *publick* determinations of states, for 'that such is the unquietness and unstedfastness of some 'dispositions, affecting every year NEW forms of 'things, as, if they [illegible] should bee followed in their unconstancy, would make all actions of state RIDICULOUS, and contemptible. Whereas the *stedfast* maintaining of things by good advice established is

Note.

Necessit. Reform. p. 53.

Seneca.

2 Cor. 1. 24

Proclamat. for authorizing the book of Com. prayer, at the close.

'is the weal of Common-Wealths. Thus far of the first point of *Independency*, *viz. Separation* (the second and third *Congregation* and *non Subjection*, have been spoken to above) and of the causes of my recess from the Church thereunto, with responsals to them. Wherein, for the clearing of things, I have been much larger than my self intended. But yet. *Absit enim ut multiloquium deputem quando necessaria dicuntur, quantalib. Sermonum multitudine ac prolixitate dicantur.*

Aug. Prolog. in lib. Retract. *Aug.* 'God forbid that I should count that, multi-'tude of words, when nothing is said but what is ne-'cessary, although it be uttered with never so great a 'number of speeches, or length of discourse, saith 'S. *Austin.*

CHAP. IX.

The Proof and Tryal of these Retractations.

SECT. I.

LEt mee now subjoyn a certain proof, and as it were *divine* tryal, or *attestation* of these Retractations, and then I shall conclude and dismiss the Reader. It is one of the gracious providences which Almighty God exerciseth towards his Servants, to put them to the *tryal* of their Faith and Profession, and that by *fire*. So the Apostle. 'That the tryal of your Faith

1 Cor. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 'being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, 'though it be tryed by fire, &c. Hence hee smites 'them into the place of Dragons, and covers them 'with the shadow of death; that by extremity being 'put to examine their grounds, if they were insuffi-

Psal. 44. 20. cient they might not dye *for*, or *in* them; and if good, they

they might ſtick the cloſer to them. Hereupon oftentimes, ſufferings, ſickneſs, and the approach of death, occaſions the repenting of thoſe things, whereof men have been very confident. As appeared now of late in the ſad Example of thoſe Gentlemen, who ſuffered about the death of our late Soveraign. As may bee ſeen on publication of the ſpeeches of ſome of them, and the wonderful conſternation and unpreparedneſs for death of Mr. *Peters*. And touching Mr. *Cook*, I remember that hee being of the *Independent* opinion, and writing a book for that way; wrote alſo ſoon after the death of the King, a vindication and defence of that his act. Wherein, hee much glorieth in the office, hee performed in that affair; and among other things hath theſe. 'That hee was indifferent whether hee dyed by 'a ſtab, or a piſtol; or by a Feaver, or Conſumption. 'That in his pleading againſt other malefactors, hee 'uſed to *tremble*; but that in his actings againſt the King, *his blood ſprung in his veins*: Yet wee hear he was of another minde at his death, but whether ſo or no, I inſiſt not on it.

Vid. The ſpeeches of the Gent. that ſuffered, as communicated by the publick intelligencer.

Mr. *Cook*.

Sollicitor, as I take it, he was.

And there is remarkable ſtory (in a Book intitled, *The prophane Schiſm of the Browniſts*, written by ſome that had been in that ſeduction) of a certain Miniſter one Mr. *Gilgate*, who was miſled that way, and of Mr. *Ainſworths* company. Who lying on his *ſick-bed*, and in peril of death; uttered, by way of repentance, theſe moſt ſavoury and conſiderable words: 'O Lord rebuke mee not in thine anger, nei- Pſal. 6. 'ther chaſtiſe mee in thy wrath, for thine arrows have 'light upon mee, and thine hand lieth upon mee. There 'is nothing ſound in my fleſh becauſe of thine anger, 'neither is there reſt in my bones, becauſe of 'my ſin, &c. Having now long time been afflicted 'with ſharp and grievous ſickneſs, whereby it hath 'pleaſed God to bring mee into more ſerious and 'deep conſideration of my eſtate, in *ſeparating* from the Note. 'Churches of Chriſt, and ſtill finding my ſeparation

The prophane Schiſm of the Browniſts. chap. 7. pag. 41.

'to bee more *unlawful*, the more I conſider the ſame. 'And while I felt my ſelf at the weakeſt and ſickeſt, 'and ſo preſſed with the force of my diſeaſe, that I 'even doubted of life; I left my conſcience moſt preſ- Note. 'ſed with deſire, to *revoke* my ſeparation. And there- 'fore do now think it my duty, before I bee ta- 'ken away hence, and bee found no more, or how- 'ſoever the *Lord* ſhall diſpoſe of mee by life or death, 'to give teſtimony to the truth whereof I am perſwa- 'ded in my ſoul.

'And as mine own diſeaſe, and the hand of God 'ſtretched out upon mee, moveth mee to conſider, and The diſeaſe of the ſeparation. 'teſtifie theſe things; ſo the diſeaſe of the ſeparation, 'and the *hand of God*, *which I ſee to be ſtretched out a- 'gainſt it*, doth alſo draw mee on the other ſide unto 'the ſame thing. *The diſeaſe of the ſeparation is a hot, 'and burning diſeaſe*, that conſumeth and deſtroyeth 'many with the poiſonous and contagious heat there- 'of; every company among them is a flame of condem- 'nation, to devour another. The *boyl* of their con- 'tention ſwelleth and burneth inceſſantly, and they 'have yet no pouldes to break it, nor any oyl to 'mollifie the ſame. (Then ſpeaking of Mr. *Ainſworth's* 'and Mr. *Johnſon* excommunicating one anothers 'members with much bitterneſs, hee addeth:) It ap- Note. 'pears they never travelled in pain of them; they ne- 'ver begot them by their Miniſtry, but having ſeduced 'and ſtolen theſe children from the ſides of other true 'Churches; the right Mothers in whoſe womb they 'they were regenerate, and born anew, they are now 'become hard-hearted, &c. Like the falſe Mother that would have the childe divided. And a little af- 'ter: I do now by this writing unfeignedly acknow- 'ledge my *ſin* to bee great, in renouncing the commu- 'nion with ſo many faithful ſervants of God, with Church of *Eng- land.* 'whom once I lived. In the Church of *England*, I ſin- Note. 'ned againſt, and diſhonoured his name, in refuſing to 'hear the word of life preached in thoſe Aſſemblies.

'The

'The life, comfort, and salvation that I expect and 'hope for in the Kingdome of Heaven; is, by the Faith 'of the Gospel preached in that Church; and preached 'there with more power, fruit, and efficacy; than I Note. 'ever yet heard in the Churches of the Separation. Then speaking of the Lady *C.* that desired to be in that way, hee adds: But for my part, having now had sufficient experience of their waies, I do freely acknowledge and profess in this bed of my sickness (from 'which, I know not whether ever I shall arise unto 'my former health) that it should bee my great Note. 'comfort to dye, in the communion of those Churches, 'whom they have now rejected, and to renounce my 'separation, before I bee separated out of this world. Thus far Mr. *Will. Gilgate*, with other things worth the noting.

SECT. II.

AS touching my self, the like, or if you will, the contrary upon a contrary cause hath happened. For in *August* last going to *London*, with a great part of these Retractations, with intention to print them wholly off, as some of it was done before. It pleased God to assault * mee, with a whole *squadron* of diseases; 'and as *Job* speaks, hee sent out his troops against mee; every one of them threatning no less, than the approach of the *King of Fears*. A *Plurisie*, an high *Malignant* (if not a pestilential) *Feaver*, the *Jaundice*, and a *Cough*, threatning a Consumption after all. With the *second* whereof, the Physicians being affrighted (that was their *word*) and it prevailing to a great measure of heat, deprivation of sleep, inequality, and interception of the *pulse*; both in their fears, and in my own sense, I began to receive *the sentence of death*

* *Aug.* 24. St. *Barth.* day. 1660. Job 19. 12. On the *Eve* whereof now 1661. (and in the same place) not on design, but occasionally (I observe) I am ultimately fitting this Chapter for the Press; providence hath often such (not to be neglected) parallels.

2 Cor. 1. *death in my ſelf.* It was now a time of moſt ſolemn exploration, as in reference unto other matters, ſo alſo unto that of Retractation, both that which I had before * publiſhed (above mentioned) and this, which I had brought with mee for the Preſs. But the *Dove* (my conſcience) could finde no reſt for the ſole of its foot, but in the Ark of *this* Church, and *State*, as eſtabliſhed by Law; And unto which I had by thoſe Retractations declared my return. And I did tremble at the thoughts of being found either in *Sedition* or *Schiſm*, as (to my judgement) I formerly was. Now the Apoſtle ſaith. *The fire ſhall try every mans work*, whether it bee Gold, Hay, or Stubble. This *proof* therefore God having given mee of theſe *Retractations*, I have made bold thus far, with the Readers Candor, here to impart it, as, perhaps not altogether uſeleſs.

* In the Tract intitled, the *Paſtor* and the *Clerk*. *Anno* 1659.

Gen. 8.

1 Cor. 3.

SECT. III.

AND now becauſe, *nec medico in majus gratia referri poteſt, nec nautæ, ſi naufragum ſuſtulit*; 'Wee cannot be too thankful to our *Medicant*, or to our *Mariner* ſaving us from Shipwrack. Give mee leave, by way of Recognition, to reflect with *Gratitude* on the healing hands of thoſe worthy perſons, which God was pleaſed to make uſe of for my recovery.

Senec. de Benef. lib. 3. cap. 35.

Of Dr. *Tho. Cox*, one of His now Majeſties Phyſicians in ordinary (who though deſigned formerly for another ſtudy, yet

Scire poteſtates herbarum uſumq; medendi
Maluit ——— ———

Hee rather choſe the power of herbs to know,
And that good Art, whence health to man doth grow.)

And of Dr. *John Hill* (another of the Colledge) my honoured friend and Collegiate, now deceaſed lately; Both *Gratis*, and without Fee, yea and with the offer of ſupply alſo, (becauſe I was viſited from mine own home) And of Mr. *Will. Bradford* Apothecary, (my Collegiate alſo) at the three black Lions in the *Old-Bayley*.

None

None of theſe were of that number, with him; *qui nutriat morbum morâ præſidii, & periculum extendat dilatione remedii, quo precioſius, aut famoſius curet*: 'That maintains the diſeaſe, by the delay of remedy; and augments the danger, by deferring of help; for the more 'gainful reward, or the greater reputation. But as one of them; *Qui plus impendit, quàm medico neceſſe eſt, pro me, non pro fama artis extimuit. Non fuit contentus remedia monſtrare, ſed admonit. Interea ſollicitus aſſedit, ad ſuſpecta tempora occurrit. Nullum Miniſterium oneri illi, nullum faſtidio fuit. Gemitos meos, non ſecurus audivit. In turbâ multorum inuocantium, ego illi potiſſima curatio fui*: 'Who performs more than 'might bee look't of a Doctor. Careful not for his 'own credit, but for my ſafety. Not contented to 'preſcribe the remedies, but hee applies them. In the 'mean while ſits and obſerves diligently. Haſtens to 'be preſent at critical ſeaſons. Is neither weary nor 'aſhamed of any office hee may do. Hears my groans 'with trouble, and ſo attends mee, as if among the 'crowd that call for help, my ſelf onely were his patient. And, in a word;

Tertul. adverſ. Marcion. lib. 1.

Senec. de Benefic. lib. 6. c. 16.

A Phyſician.

Ιητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων. Hom. Il. λ.

A man of Art, whoſe finger cures the ſick;
More than the body of an Emperick.

SECT. IV.

BUt yet
Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte Magiſtrâ
Proveniunt———
Major agit Deus, atq; opera ad majora remittit.
This, not by humane help, nor Phyſicks skill;
'Twas *God* that did it, whoſe moſt ſacred will
Is, I ſhould live to further ſervice ſtill.

Æneid. 12.

Psal. 147. 3. After the old English. Mark 2. 7. For *hee* (saith the Psalmist) *giveth medicine to heal their sickness*. Because *sickness* (originally) is the fruit of *sin*, and *none can forgive sin but God onely*. Hence they are joyned, and joyntly ascribed unto him, *Psal.* 103. 3. who forgiveth all thy sin, who healeth all thy diseases. Which is also the observation of *Hezekiah*, being recovered from sickness; 'Thou hast, saith hee, Isa. 38. 17. 'delivered mee from the pit of corruption, for thou Psal. 116. 12. 'hast cast all my *sins* behinde thy back. For my self therefore, I must exclaim with the former. And passionately interrogate my soul: *What shall I render unto the Lord for all these* benefits towards mee. And particularly, for giving mee this further *proof* (by this Isa. 57. *ult.* tryal) that *there is no peace to the wicked*, and *Apostates* from communion with *this* Church, and from obedience to the fundamental *Laws* of this Nation? 'The *Laws* being not onely a result of the *reason* of * Dr. *Sibs* Souls conflict. *cap.* 17. 'many men for publick good (as that * Author 'speaks) But also of the Law of *Nature* it self, As * Rom. 2. 15. chap. 1. 19. the * Apostle shews. Nay an express even of *Gods* own Law; As the same Apostle hath it a little before. * *R. Hook.* Eccl. pol. l. 3. sec. 9. 'If * *therefore they have God for their Author, contempt which is offered unto them, cannot chuse but redound unto him.* Whose vindication of himself and such Laws, wee have seen executed upon the violaters, from the *least* of them unto the *greatest*. The Lord therefore having delivered mee from so great a sin, and so dangerous a sickness; 'I will take the Psal. 116. 'cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the 'Lord; I will pay my vows, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Concluſion. Petitory, Monitory, Speratory.

SECT. I.

AND now, to cloſe this Tractate; I beſeech all 'men, *to judge nothing before the time*, until the 'Lord come; who will bring to *light* the *hidden* things 'of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the *counſels of* 'the *hearts*, and then ſhall every man have praiſe of 'God; *who ſhall defer his judgement till then*, for that his *modeſty* and *charity*. Neither let others be difficult in forgiving, remembring that *ille Evangellicus junior filius, paterna depopulatur ſubſtantia, ſed in ſemetipſum reverſus, non ſolum ſuſcipi meruit, ſed & dignus paternis complexibus deputatur, & annulum fidei recipit, & ſtola circumdatur, per quam quid aliud, quam Sacerdotii declarantur inſignia. Nec probabilis extitit apud patrem ſenior filius, quod invidit recepto, nec tantum meriti habuit non delinquendo, quantum noxæ contraxit, non indulgendo Germano, I. E.* 'That younger 'Son mentioned in the Goſpel, the waſter of his Fa- 'thers ſubſtance, but returning unto himſelf, did not 'onely obtain to be received, but was alſo counted 'worthy of his Fathers embracements, and received 'the Ring of Faith, and was cloathed with a Robe; 'by which what other thing is ſignified than the Orna- 'ments of *Prieſthood*. Neither was the elder Son ap- 'proved of his Father, in that hee envyed the reception 'of his Brother: *Neither deſerved hee ſo well by not of- 'fending, as hee contracted guilt by not indulging.* Let no man therefore bee high minded, but fear; and let 'him that ſtandeth take heed leaſt hee fall. And let 'him

1 Cor. 4. 5.

Concilium Alexandr. apud Ruffin Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 28.

Luke 15.

Rom. 11. Gal. 6.

Pſal. 8. Prov. 14. 14. 1 King. 2.

'him whom God hath recalled, ſee, that hee return not 'again to folly. For the backſlider in heart ſhall bee 'ſatisfied with his own way; as wee ſee in *Shimei*, who was not hearty to his ſubmiſſion. And I remember that *Watſon* the Prieſt, having well * defended, allegeance, was afterward executed for * treaſon. I crave therefore the benefit and exerciſe of that Article of our Faith, which every one of us profeſſeth: the *communion of Saints*; And particularly, in the conjunction of their *prayers* with mine: that God who hath Phil. 1. 6. 'begun this good work in mee, would ſtrengthen, ſta- 'bliſh, confirm and perfect it until the day of Chriſt. '*Amen.*

* *Watſons Quodlibets*
* At *Winchester.*

SECT. II.

The heads of this Treatiſe.
1.
2.
3.

AND now having rendred the grounds of theſe Retractations, and given a reaſon of mine and the Church of *Englands* Faith in theſe particulars; And repreſented the conſent thereof with the holy *Scripture*, with primitive *Antiquity*; and with the judgement of the beſt of the late writers of the *Reformed* Churches; and made reply alſo to ſuch *Objections* as did ſeem material; let mee adjure all men, and conclude in the *Church* affair, with the prayer, obteſtation and admonition of the learned *Zanchy*.—*Precor omnes (chriſtianos per Dominum Jeſum, ut poſitis vanis* privatorum *hominum* ſomniis; *poſitis etiam propriæ carnis affectibus, odiis, inimicitiis, amplexi vero* certam *ac ſalutarem* veteris *Eccleſiæ doctrinam Chriſtianamq; dilectionem; coeamus omnes in unam fidem ſanctamq; amicitiam, ſicut nobis quoq; omnibus, unus eſt Deus, unus Mediator, unum Baptiſma, una ſpes vocationis noſtræ: Ad gloriam nominis Dei, Eccleſiæ ædificationem, ſalutemq; animorum noſtrorum. Citius enim quam putamus, ſiſtemur ante tribunal Chriſti, ut referat unuſquiſq; prout ſe geſſerat in corpore & in hac vita. Quando poſt hanc vitam, nulla ſpes veniæ, nullus reſipiſcentiæ locus.*

Zanch. in clauſulâ obſervationum in confeſſ. ſuam. Tom. 8.

locus. 'I beſeech all Chriſtians (ſaith hee) by the 'Lord Jeſus, that laying aſide the dreams and vanities 'of private men; and laying aſide alſo the corrupt af-'fections of their own fleſh, as hatred and enmities; 'and embracing the *ſure* and ſoveraign Doctrine of 'the *Antient* Church, with Chriſtian *love*; wee may 'all grow into one Faith, and Chriſtian friendſhip: As 'there is to us alſo all, but one God, one Mediator, 'one Baptiſm, one hope of our Calling: This do 'wee to the glory of the Name of God, the edifi-'cation of the Church, and the ſalvation of our own 'ſouls. For ſooner than wee are aware of, wee ſhall Note. 'bee ſet before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt, that 'every one may receive according as hee hath carried 'himſelf in the body, and in this life; when, after this 'life, there will bee no hope of pardon, no place for 'repentance. Thus far hee.

And, in the matter of the *Civil* State, I cannot end better, than with *that* moſt true and charitable, both judgement and *prediction* of the Kingly Prophet our late ſlaughtered *Soveraign*, ſpeaking to His *Majeſty* that now is (and whom *God* long preſerve:) Be con-'fident (ſaith hee) as I am, that the moſt of all 'ſides who have done amiſs, have done ſo, not out 'of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion 'of things. (And) none will bee more loyal and 'faithful to mee and you, than thoſe ſubjects, who 'ſenſible of their errours, and our injuries, will 'feel in their own ſouls, moſt *vehement* motives to 'repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome repara-'tions for their former defects. *Icon. Baſilic. Medit.* 27.

Pſalm 32. 3, 5.

Whilſt I kept ſilence, thy hand was heavy on mee;
I ſaid I will confeſs, and thou forgaveſt mee.

O ter beatum, cui bonus arbiter
Non imputavit lubrica devia

Errata vita, nec reperit dolum
Caco in receſſu pectoris.—

Eraſm. in vita Hieron. & de ipſo Hieron. verba faciens.

Fit neſcio quo pacto, ut efficacius nos eorum exempla permoveant, quibus ex vitioſa vita contigit ad pietatem reſipiſcere.

* Reg. juris in Tit. digeſt. Reg. 108.

* *Fere in omnibus penalibus judiciis, & ætati & imprudentiæ ſuccurritur.*

πάντοτε δόξα θεῷ.

CHAP. XI.

Fuga Vacui: or, *Some Additionals.*

Phyſ. lib. 4. cap. 8. Seqq.

NOn dari *Vacuum*, that there is no emptineſs in *Nature* (and the works of *God*) was the aſſertion of the Philoſopher; And *ne detur Vacuum*, that there may be none in *Morals*, and in our works muſt be the contention of every Writer. For which purpoſe, partly to fill the Vacant pages, and ſpecially the Readers mind, with ſatisfaction; I ſhall ſubjoyn, firſt certain *notes* in reference unto the *chief* Arguments in this Treatiſe: Next ſome other Examples of *Retractations*, and laſtly, an undoubted evidence of the ſincerity of my *own* Concerning the Notes.

* Suggeſted to my ſearch by my Reverend friend Mr. *Tim. Thriſcroſſe.*

* *Fox.* Act. Mon. Edit. the firſt (for none ſince have it)

1. Touching the *Common-Prayer-Book*, the notable * Teſtimony of *John Careleſs*, Confeſſor and Martyr (who died in the Marſhalſey) 1556. The words (* in his Examination) are [Dr. *Martin*. But I pray thee, how ſayeſt thou now, thy *ſecond* Book (the Liturgy reformed in 5, 6. *Edw.* 6.) is alſo condemned in divers points of Hereſie at *Frankford*, among the Brethren, which Book will you allow? *Careleſs*. I am ſure that it is not there in any point condemned of Hereſie, unleſs it be of the ANABAPTISTS, as it is here. And I do not think, but there be ſome, as well there, as in *England*, and it is like enough that SUCH do finde fault with it. Dr. *Martin*. Nay even of Mr. *Cox* himſelf, and other that were Preachers in King *Edwards* time,

Who are offended with the Liturgy.

time, they have disproved your * *second* Book in divers points, and have now made a *third* Book, how say you, which of these *three* Books will you allow now? *Careless.* Forsooth I say still, as I have *written*, that the *second* Book is good and godly, and IN ALL POINTS agreeing to the Word of *God*; and I am sure that neither Master *Cox*, nor any other of our godly Preachers that be fled unto *Frankford*, have condemned that Book IN ANY POINT, as repugnant to the Word of *God*; though perchance they have altered something therein, *according to the usage of that Country*, where now they are. And I have not denied in my Articles, but the *Church of Christ hath power* and authority to enlarge or diminish any thing in the same GOOD BOOK, so far forth as it is agreeable to the Scriptures. D. *Martin.* But what authority have you, or how durst you bee so bold to make an Article of the Faith, concerning that Book, to be beleeved of all men under pain of damnation? *Careless.* Ah Master Doctor, have I bound any man, to beleeve that Article under pain of damnation, as you do charge mee? I am sure there is no such word in all my Articles. I have there written what I hold and beleeve my self, as I am bound to do in *conscience*: And now I will add thus much more: 'That 'the same Book, which is *so consonant and agreeable to* 'the *Word of God*, being set forth by Common *Autho-* 'rity, both of the *Kings* Majesty that is dead, and the 'whole *Parliament* House, ought not to be despised by 'mee, or any other *private* man under pain of Gods 'high displeasure, and DAMNATION except they repent.

* This Book established 5, 6. *Edw.* 6. was re-established 1. *Eliz.* with two or three alterations, and is that we now use, as was proved above. The Alterations are in the Act prefixed before the Service-Book.

☞ Note in the fear of God, and consider
1.
2.

2. Concerning *Monarchy*, and that of this Nation. * *Hoc enim mihi ratum & indubitatum semper fuit; hoc semper cum Politicis & Theologis gravissimis sensi, & palam apud omnes professus sum;* Monarchiam hæreditariam (*sub qua mihi vitales auras feliciter haurire, bonis omnimodis frui, pie & tranquillè degere contigit*) esse omnium, *quotquot exstant aut* excogitari possunt *regimi-*

* The Testimony of Mr. *Sam. Ward*, sometime the famous Preacher of *Ipswitch*, the Author of several elegant and useful pieces.

num formæ; longè multumq; præstantissimam, utilissimam, laudatissimam: Cui me ex animo *favere ille novit, qui perscrutatur renes meos, &c. i. e.* 'This hath alwaies 'been with mee a certain and undoubted maxime; this 'alwaies with the best *States-men* and *Divines* I have 'ever concluded, and openly among all men professed, 'viz. That a *Monarchical Government hereditary* (under 'which providence hath so ordered, that I have drawn 'my vital breath, enjoyed many comforts, have had 'the opportunity to live *godly* and *quietly*) is of *all* Go-'vernments which are, or *can be devised*, by many degrees 'the best, the most beneficial and most commendable, 'to which, that I am, from my heart, a well-wisher; hee 'knows that searches my reins, and my heart; said that Author.

In his Preface to King *Charls* the first, prefixed before his Treatise in Latine, of the *Loadstone* dedicated unto him; intituled *Magnetis Reductorium.*

Lastly, Concerning the *Divine Right* of Episcopacy. Though from one in that function, yet because it derives it higher, and founds it somewhat *deeper*, more *solidly*, and also *briefer*, than is usually done, deserves more special notice. His words are:

Dr. *Sanderson* the now Right Reverend Bishop of *Lincoln* in his late treatise, intituled Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power, as established by Law; in the Postscript.

My opinion is, that Episcopal Government, is not to bee derived meerly from *Apostolical* practice or Institution; But that it is originally founded in the person and office of the *Messias*, our Blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST, who being sent by his heavenly Father to bee the great *Apostle*, Heb. 3. 1. *Bishop and Pastor*, 1 Pet. 2. 25. of his Church, and *annointed* to that office immediately *after his Baptism by* JOHN, *with power and the Holy Ghost*, Act. 10. 37,-- 8. descending then upon him *in a bodily shape*, Luke 3. 22. did afterward, before his *ascension* into Heaven, send and impower his holy *Apostles* (giving them the *Holy Ghost* likewise, as his Father had given him, *John* 20. 21.) to execute the same *Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral office*, for the ordering and governing of his *Church*, until his coming again; and so the same *office* to continue in *them*, and their *Successors, unto the end of the world*, Mat. 28. 18, 20. This I take to be so clear, from these and other like

like *Texts of Scripture*, that if they ſhall bee diligently *compared* together, both *between themſelves*, and with the following *practice of all the Churches of Chriſt*, as well in the *Apoſtles* times, as in the pureſt and *Primitive* times neareſt thereunto, there will bee left little cauſe, why any man ſhould doubt thereof. Thus that Reverend Author.

II. Certain other Examples of Retractations.

In the next place other Inſtances of Retractations and repentings: *Cujus* (Auguſtini) *induſtriam nobis quoq; pro modulo noſtro, placuit imitari — Nunc in idem volumen* (*Actor. Apoſtolic.*) *brevem* Retractationis *libellum condamus; ſtudio maximè vel addendi, quæ minus dicta, vel emendandi quæ ſecus quam placuit dicta videbantur.* 'The ingenuity and induſtry of St. *Auſtin* '(in his Retractations) it is my purpoſe in my ſmall 'meaſure, to imitate alſo — Now (therefore) let us 'compile a brief Treatiſe of Retractations, with this 'intent eſpecially, either of adding thoſe things which 'were not ſufficiently expreſſed; or of amending thoſe 'that were expreſſed otherwiſe than did ſeem conve-'nient, ſaith venerable *Bede*. Again. *Beda prefat. in Retract. ſuas in Actor. Apoſtol. Tom. 6.*

For my part (ſaith another, though a late Author, 'yet one of good note) Good Reader, I account it no 'ſhame to confeſs and revoke an errour; and will there-'fore do it plainly, and without circumſtance. Then 'hee cloſes with this honeſt and *Auſtin-like* expreſſion, *viz.* 'From him, that had rather confeſs his own er-'ror, than make thee erre for company: The like 'whereunto wee heard above out of that Father. And Mr. *Whately* in his *Bride-Buſh*, in his advertiſement to the Reader.

Dr. * *Brownrigge*, the late moſt worthy Biſhop of *Exeeſter* would ſay that: *Hee hoped every good man had his Retractations, either actual or intentional, that died in true Faith and Repentance*; howſoever all had not time to write their Retractations, as St. *Auſtin* did. This for Retractations. Biſhop *Brownriggs* ſentence concerning Retractations. Related by Dr. *Gauden* the now very Rev. Biſhop of *Exceſter*, his *ſucceſſor*.

III. An

III. An Evidence further of the ſincerity of my own.

For the Truth of my Return unto the Church, take part of a Letter written to a dying friend, and neer relation, *Octob.* 8. 60. Immediately after my recovery from my dangerous ſickneſs above mentioned (the rather, becauſe the matter may do good to ſome others alſo) the words were theſe, *viz.*

—'The next thing I would remember you of, is; that you 'have according to the courſe of this world, lived in 'Schiſm, and ſeparation from the Church, your Mini-'ſter, and the Ordinances of God in the place where 'you live, and particularly from the holy Communion. 'Remember what the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 11. 30. 'For this cauſe many are weak and ſickly among you, 'and many are dead. If the prophanation, then the '*total neglect* of the Sacrament (which argues a con-'tempt of it) is often puniſhed in this manner. Ap-'ply this, and ſee the Exhortations before the Lords Sup-'per in the *Common-Prayer-Book*; where you ſhall ſee 'more of the danger of the neglect of this Ordinance. 'Neither is *Schiſm*, and withdrawing our ſelves from 'the Church, in the place wherein wee live, and the 'Miniſtry and Ordinances there, a *ſmall* ſin. For it is 'a rending and defiling, and deſtroying of that parti-'cular body of *Chriſt*, and Church of God. Now the 'puniſhment is: If any man defile or deſtroy (ſo it is 'in the Margin of your Bible) the Temple of God, 'him will God deſtroy, 1 *Corinth.* 3. 17. God is de-'ſtroying of you in the midſt of your years, and 'this is your ſin. Your Example makes other ſtones 'of the ſpiritual building (as one peece in a houſe fal-'ling, makes way for another) fall off too. If all ſhould 'do ſo, God ſhould have no Church, no Miniſtry, no 'Worſhip in that place. Your *Father* did not ſo, but 'waited humbly on God in his Ordinances, and made 'uſe of ſuch Miniſtry as God ſent (though ſometimes

'mean

'mean, and none of the best) and encouraged them. What is 'it then? First ask the *Lord* earnest pardon. Next go and bee '*reconciled to your* * *Minister*; let proud men count never so 'meanly of him. *Crave his prayers, attend upon his Ministry,* '*joyn with him in Publick Worship, bee admitted to the Lords* '*Table*; and go not out of the world, as a *Heathen* of no 'Church, and with no *Sacraments* — If you will think on the 'premises, though your condition should bee as the *giving up* '*of the Ghost*, as *Job* speaks, yet God ordinarily works extra-'ordinary things in such cases. 'He brings down to the grave, 'and raises up again. 1 *Sam.* 2. Hee kills and makes alive. 'Hee giveth forth the sentence of death, and afterwards 'quickens again, 2 *Cor.* 1. But so, that we acknowledge, that 'wee have sinned. *Job* 33. observe that place, and read *Psal.* '107. Howsoever, *you will depart in peace*; namely in the 'Communion of Christ, his Church and Ordinances; and so, 'with them, be gathered into the bosome of *Abraham*, there 'to expect the second appearance of the Great God, and our 'Saviour *Jesus Christ*. If you neglect these things, my soul 'shall mourn in secret for you; yet with this comfort, that I 'have in part discharged it. But let mee hope better things of 'you, and such as do accompany salvation. Consider what 'hath been said, and the *Lord* give you understanding in all '* things, &c. Thus far the Letter. And now to put a final period to this large discourse; in a word:

'I beseech all men to be perswaded, *first*, That I do, with the Blessed 'Apostle, *beleeve* all things that are written in the Law and the Prophets, 'in the Evangelists and Apostles; *next* that I have hope towards God, 'that there shall be a *Resurrection* both of the Just, and the Unjust: And '*lastly*, that hereupon, I exercise my self to have a *Conscience* void of of-'fence toward *God*, and towards man alwaies; with which Petition and 'Profession I cease and shut up all.

*Sept. 13, Ann. Dom. 1661. Regni Carol. secundi Magn. Britann. Franc. & Hibern. Regis sereniss. 13. sed (inaudito Dei Consilio) Restituti (& cum eo Ecclesiæ) secundo. * Quod utriq; secundissimè faustissimeq; in perpetuum cedat. Votum (ex animo) quotidian.*

JOHANNIS ELLIS.

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FINIS.

* Mr. P. of St. E. A man fully conformable to the Church of *England*.

* This Letter to have then been sent, is known to several persons in *Cambr.* who have seen the *Original*, which also I have recovered. Act. 24.

* *At. M.* 54. (Adulationi *inepto*) & à Maii 29. (*die mihi natalitio per lavacr. Regeneration. NOVÆ*) *quod excurrit.*